ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. V

INSCRIPTIONS
OF
THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

EDITED BY

Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi, M.A., D.Litt.

Hony Professor of Ancient Indian History & Culture
University of Nagpur

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA

OOTACAMUND

1963

Price : **Rs. 40·00**

©
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

PLATES PRINTED BY THE DIRECTOR, SURVEY OF INDIA, EASTERN CIRCLE, CALCU'

LETTERPRESS PRINTED AT THE JOB PRESS PRIVATE LTD , KANPUR

PREFACE

SOON after the publication of the *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chēdi Era* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol IV) in 1955, I thought of preparing a *corpus* of the inscriptions of the Vākātakas, for the Vākātaka dynasty was the most glorious one in the ancient history of Vidarbha, where I have spent the best part of my life, and I had already edited or re-edited more than half the number of its records I soon completed the work and was thinking of getting it published, when Shri A Ghosh, Director General of Archaeology, who then happened to be in Nagpur, came to know of it He offered to publish it as Volume V of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Series I was very glad to avail myself of the offer and submitted the work to the Archaeological Department in 1957 It was soon approved. The order for printing it was given to the Job Press (Private) Ltd , Kanpur, on the 7th July, 1958 Owing to various difficulties, the work of printing went on very slowly I am glad to find that it is now nearing completion

During the course of this work I have received help from several persons, for which I have to record here my grateful thanks For the chapter on Architecture, Sculpture and Painting I found G Yazdani's *Ajanta* very useful I am grateful to the Department of Archaeology, Government of Andhra Pradesh, for permission to reproduce some plates from that work Dr B Ch Chhabra, Joint Director General of Archaeology, went through my typescript and made some important suggestions The Government Epigraphist for India rendered the necessary help in the preparation of the Skeleton Plates Shri V P. Rode, Curator of the Central Museum, Nagpur, supplied the photographs of some panels recently discovered at Pavnar Prof N R Navlekar of Jabalpur kindly read a proof of the Introduction and made some important suggestions To all these friends I feel deeply indebted Finally, I thank Shri A Ghosh, Director General of Archaeology, for having included this work in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Series and the Director, Eastern Circle, Survey of India, for the excellent plates which illustrate the records in this Volume

NAGPUR
20th April, 1963

V V MIRASHI

S. V. UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL RESEAR... LIBRARY
TIRU...
No
Date

CONTENTS

	Page
List of Plates	(ix)
Abbreviations	(xi)
Corrigenda	(xiii)

INTRODUCTION

Chapter I	The Discovery of the Vākātakas	i
Chapter II	Vākātaka Chronology	v
	Appendix—A Note on Dr R C Majumdar's Genealogy and Chronology of the Vākātakas	vii
Chapter III	The Home of the Vākāṭakas	xi
Chapter IV	Early Rulers	xvii
Chapter V	The Main Branch	xxi
Chapter VI	The Vatsagulma Branch	xxix
Chapter VII	Administration	xxxiv
Chapter VIII	Religion	xl
Chapter IX	Society	xliv
Chapter X	Literature	liii
Chapter XI	Architecture, Sculpture and Painting	lx

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAIN BRANCH

No	Plate		
1	I	Dēotek Stone Inscription of Rudrasēna I	1
2	II	Poonā Plates of Prabhāvatīguptā	5
3	III	Jāmb Plates of Pravarasēna II	10
4 & 5	IV & V	Bēlōrā Plates (Sets A and B) of Pravarasēna II	16
6	VI	Chammak Plates of Pravarasēna II	22
7	VII	Siwanī Plates of Pravarasēna II	28
8	VIII	Ṛiddhapur Plates of Prabhāvatīguptā	33
9	IX	Indore Plates of Pravarasēna II	38
10	X	Dudiā Plates of Pravarasēna II	43
11	XI	Tirōdī Plates of Pravarasēna II	48
12	XII	Wadgaon Plates of Pravarasēna II	53
13	XIII	Pattan Plates of Pravarasēna II	57
14	XIV	Pāndhurnā Plates of Pravarasēna II	63
15	XV	Pātnā Museum Plate of Pravarasēna II	69
16	XVI	Rāmtēk Plate of Pravarasēna II	73
17	XVII	An unfinished Durg Plate	76
18	XVIII	Bālāghāt Plates of Prithivīshēna II	79

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE FEUDATORIES OF THE MAIN BRANCH

19	XIX	Bamhanī Plates of Bharatabala	82
20–21	XX-XXI	Nachnē-kī-Talāī Stone Inscription of Vyāghradēva	89
22	XXII	Ganj Stone Inscription of Vyāghradēva	92

CONTENTS

Page

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE VATSAGULMA BRANCH

23	XXIII	Bāsim Plates of Vindhyaśakti II	93
24	XXIV	India Office Plate of Dēvasēna	101

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MINISTERS AND FEUDATORIES OF THE VATSAGULMA BRANCH

25	XXV	Ajantā Cave Inscription of Varāhadēva	103
26	XXVI	Ghatōtkacha Cave Inscription of Varāhadēva	112
27	XXVII	Inscription in Ajantā Cave XVII	120
Index			131

LIST OF PLATES

Plate	Title	Facing Page
	Map showing places mentioned in Vākāṭaka Inscriptions	xviii
A	The Image of Trivikrama from Rāmtēk	Between pages lx & lxi
B	The Panel " Meeting of Bharata " from Pavnār	
C	The Panel " Killing of Vālī " from Pavnār	Between pages lxii & lxiii
D	(i) The Image of Gangā from Pavnār	
	(ii) Inscription on the Image of Gangā	
E	The Temple at Tigōwā	Between pages lxiv & lxv
F	The Image of Gangā on the Door-way of the temple at Tigōwā	
G	The Image of Yamunā on the Door-way of the Temple at Tigōwā	Between pages lxiv & lxv
H	The Temple at Nachnā	
I	The Plan of Cave XVI at Ajantā	lxvi
J	Dying Sundarī	lxviii
K	The Plan of Cave XVII at Ajantā	Between pages lxx & lxxi
L	Greedy Jūjaka receiving Ransom Money	
M	The Buddha, Yaśōdharā and Rāhula	lxxii
N	The Front View of Cave XIX at Ajantā	Between pages lxxiv & lxxv
O	The Plan of the Ghatōtkacha Cave	

Plate	Title	Page
I	Dēotēk Stone Inscription of Rudrasēna I	4
II	Poonā Plates of Prabhāvatīguptā	8
III	Jāmb Plates of Pravarasēna II	Between pages 12 & 13
IV	Bēlōrā Plates (Set A) of Pravarasēna II	Facing page 18
V	Bēlōrā Plates (Set B) of Pravarasēna II	Facing page 20
VI	Chammak Plates of Pravarasēna II	Between pages 24 & 25
VII	Siwanī Plates of Pravarasēna II	Between pages 30 & 31
VII (contd)	Seals of Pravarasēna II— (i) Seal of Chammak Plates, (ii) Seal of Siwanī Plates, (iii) Seal of Tirōḍī Plates	Facing page 32
VIII	Riddhapur Plates of Prabhāvatīguptā	Facing page 36
IX	Indore Plates of Pravarasēna II	Facing page 40
X	Dudiā Plates of Pravarasēna II	Between pages 46 & 47
XI	Tirōḍī Plates of Pravarasēna II	Facing page 50
XII	Wadgaon Plates of Pravarasēna II	Between pages 54 & 55
XIII	Pattan Plates of Pravarasēna II	Between pages 60 & 61
XIII (contd)	Pattan Plates of Pravarasēna II	Facing page 62
XIV	Pāndhurnā Plates of Pravarasēna II	Between pages 66 & 67
XIV (contd)	Pāndhurnā Plates of Pravarasēna II	Facing page 68
XV	Pātnā Museum Plate of Pravarasēna II	Facing page 70

Plate		Facing P
XVI	Rāmtēk Plate of Pravarasēna II	Facing page
XVII	An Unfinished Durg Plate	Facing page
XVIII	Bālāghāt Plates of Prithivīshēna II	Between pages 80 &
XIX	Bahmanī Plates of Bharatabala	Between pages 86 &
XX	Nachnē-kī-Talāi Stone Inscription (No I) of Vyāghradēva	Facing page
XXI	Nachnē-kī-Talāi Stone Inscription (No II) of Vyāghradēva	Facing page
XXII	Ganj Stone Inscription of Vyāghradēva	Facing page
XXIII	Bāsim Plates of Vindhyaśakti II	Between pages 96 &
XXIV	India Office Plate of Devasēna	Facing page 1
XXV	Ajantā Cave Inscription of Varāhadēva	Facing page 1
XXVI	Ghatōtkacha Cave Inscription of Varāhadēva	Facing page 1
XXVII	Inscription in Ajantā Cave XVII	Facing page 1

ABBREVIATIONS

A B O R I	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
Ajanta	G Yazdani, Ajanta
A S W I	Archaeological Survey of Western India
Bom Gaz	Bombay Gazetteer
C A S I R	Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Reports
C I I	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
C T I	Burgess, Cave Temples of India
D K A	Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age
E H D	R G Bhandarkar, Early History of the Deccan
Ep Ind	Epigraphia Indica
G C I	Ghatōtkacha Cave Inscription (pub by Government of Hyderabad).
G O S	Gaekwad's Oriental Series
H C I P	R C Majumdar and A D Pusalkar, History and Culture of the Indian People
I C P B	Hiralal, Inscriptions in C P and Berar (Second ed)
Ind Ant	Indian Antiquary
Ind Cul	Indian Culture
Ind Hist Quart	Indian Historical Quarterly
J A S B	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
J B B R A S	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J B O R S	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
J N S I	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India
J R A S	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
J R A S B	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
M A S I	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
MBH	Mahābhārata
MSM	Manusmriti
N H I P	R C Majumdar and A S Altekar, New History of the Indian People.
N I A	New Indian Antiquary
N U J	Nagpur University Journal
P I H C	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress
P R A S I W C	Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle.
P T A I O C	Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference.
S I	V V Mirashi, Studies in Indology

CORRIGENDA

Page viii, para 2, line 6—For *tādṛiśā putrā* read *tādṛiśāh putrāh.*

,, ix, line 14—For *Mahārāja-Dāmodarasēna* read *Mahārāja-śrī-Dāmodarasēna.*

,, ix, foot-note 1—*For* Prithivshēna *read* Prithivīshēna.

,, xi, para 2, line 5—*For* भोगो *read* भोगी

,, xii, line 2—*For* Sātpudā *read* Sātpudā

,, xviii, foot-note 2—*For* amendation *read* emendation.

,, xxiii, para 2, line 6—*For* Rāmgiri *read* Rāmagiri

,, xxix, para 5, line 5—*For* the sons Pravarasēna I *read* the sons of **Pravarasēna** I

,, xxxix, para 3, line 4—*For* explicity *read* explicitly

,, xlix, line 6—*For* Jujaka *read* Jūjaka

,, li, para 1, line 5—For *-tilaka* read *-tilaka*

,, liii, line 12—For *praśasit* read *praśasti*

,, lviii, line 12—*For* सारुग *read* सारग

,, lxxiv, para 3, last line—*Insert an inverted comma at the end.*

,, lxxv, para 2, line 2—*Substitute a comma for the full point after* bases
For octagon *read* octagonal

,, 19, text-line 8—*For* गुण[*] *read* गुणै[*]

,, 19, text-line 17—*For* इह *read* इहा–

,, 21, foot-note 1, line 2—*For* p 63 *read* p 64.

,, 24, text-line 21—*For* सञ्च(चा)रि — *read* सञ्च(ञ्चा)रि–

,, 29, foot-note 5, line 2—For *Mārkandēayapurāna* read *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa*

,, 32, line 2—*Insert* **Phālguna** in *after* of

,, 35, para 1, line 3—*For* Mujumdar *read* Majumdar

,, 39, foot-note 4—For *-atistrishṭah* read *-atisrishtah*

,, 40, text-line 5—*For* वृते– *read* वृत्ते–

,, 40, text-line 10—*For* व *read* व..

,, 40, text-line 11—*For* हितात्थ *read* हितात्थं.

,, 40, text-line 14—*For* प(पा)श्वँ *read* प(पा)श्वेँ

,, 41, text-line 22—*For* ऋणि- *read* ऋेणि-

,, 41, foot-note 1—*For* मले *read* मूले

,, 44, text-line 3—*For* असभार- *read* असभार-

,, 44, text-line 6—*For* भगवनाग- *read* भवनाग-

,, 49, foot-note 7, line 2—*For* Vēnātata *read* Vēnātata

,, 50, text-line 10—*For* समुदस्य *read* समुदयस्य

,, 50, text-line 16—*For* मातु *read* मातुः

,, 50, text-lines 19 and 20—*Insert a hyphen after the last letter*

,, 51, text-line 21—*For* बलिबर्द्द *read* बलिवर्द्द .

,, 53, para 3, line 5—For *klipt-lopakliptah* read *klipt-ōpakliptah*

,, 57, para 4, line 6—For *sunoh* read *sunōḥ.*

,, 58, foot-note 2, line 1—For *Rajamānika* read *Rājamānika.*

,, 58, foot-note 2, line 2—For *vishaya-mana* read *vishaya-māna*

,, 58, foot-note 3, line 2—*For* or *Mahāpurusha read* or *Mahāpūrusha*

,, 60, text-line 18—*For* वाकाटकाना *read* वाकाटकाना

Page 62, line 9—*For* kārttika *read* **Kārttika**
,, 67, text-line 54—*For* मा प्प- *read* माधप्प-
,, 71, text-line 9—*For* समीमान्त- *read* ससीमान्त-
,, 83, line 18—For *-vishēsha* read *-viśēsha*
,, 85, text-line 24—Insert a *danda* at the end
,, 86, text-line 43—*For* [पा*तकै *read* [पा*]तकै:
,, 86, foot-note 7—*For* सोद्रङ्ग- *read* सोद्रङ्ग
,, 87, line 6 from the bottom—*For* peoples *read* people
,, 88, line 32—*For* son the goldsmith *read* son of the goldsmith
,, 96, text-line 2—*For* व *read* वृ-
,, 97, foot-note 1—For *Ajñapti* read *Ājñapti*
,, 107, line 3—*For* Satārā *read* Sātārā
,, 107, text-line 5—*For* [क्र- *read* [क्र]-
,, 108, text-line 16—*For* –रुपेत [.*] *read* –रुपेत [.।*]
,, 116, text-line 5—*For* धम्यनि् क्रियाः *read* धर्म्या ⧗ क्रियाः
,, 123, para 3, line 2—For *Rāmayāna* read *Rāmāyaṇa*

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE DISCOVERY OF THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

THE Vākātakas were one of the most glorious dynasties that flourished in South India in ancient times Their empire at one time extended from Mālwā and Gujarāt in the north to the Tungabhadrā in the south and from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east They were great patrons of literature The liberal patronage they gave to Sanskrit and Prakrit poets soon brought the Vaidarbhī and Vachchhōmī *rītis* into prominence and induced great poets like Kālidāsa to adopt them for their works They themselves composed *kāvyas* and *subhāshitas* which have evoked praise from famous poets and rhetoricians like Bāna and Dandin, Kuntaka and Hēmachandra The temples they erected are no longer in existence, but the sculptures found in their ruins have attracted the notice of art-critics, who rank them among the best specimens of ancient times The magnificent *vihāra* and *chaitya* caves which their ministers and feudatories excavated out of solid rock at Ajantā and Gulwādā still excite the admiration of the world In view of these achievements there is hardly any exaggeration in the following observation[1] of Prof J. Dubreuil "Of all the dynasties of the Deccan that have reigned from the third to the sixth century, the most glorious, the most important, the one that must be given the place of honour, the one that has excelled all others, the one that has had the greatest influence on the civilization of the whole of the Deccan is unquestionably the illustrious dynasty of the Vākātakas"

Still, the existence and even the name of this illustrious dynasty had passed into oblivion and became known only when the Siwanī copper-plate grant[2] of Pravarasēna II was discovered in Madhya Pradesh in 1836 Vindhyaśakti, the founder of this dynasty, was indeed mentioned in the Purānas, but partly owing to bad readings and partly due to misconstruction, he was believed to have belonged to the Yavana or Greek race. Even after deciphering the inscription in Ajantā Cave XVI which gives the royal genealogy from the earliest time to the last Vākātaka king Harishēna, Dr Bhau Daji remarked in 1862 that 'the Vākātakas were a dynasty of the Yavanas or Greeks who took the lead in the performance of Vedic sacrifices as well as in the execution of most substantial and costly works for the encouragement of Buddhism[3]' It has since been pointed out that Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the dynasty, is described in that inscription as a *dvija*, which usually means a Brāhmana The *gōtra* Vishnuvriddha of the Vākātakas is also mentioned in almost all their copper-plate grants It is now generally accepted that like the Sātavāhanas, the Vākātakas also were a Brāhmana family that rose into prominence in the early centuries of the Christian era

The period during which the Vākātakas flourished had long been uncertain Unlike the Guptas, they did not start any era, but dated all their grants in regnal years Their age had therefore to be conjectured from the characters of their inscriptions

---

[1] Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 71
[2] *J A S B*, Vol V (1836), pp 726, f
[3] *J B.B R A S*, Vol VII, pp 69 f

Almost all the Vākātaka grants are incised in box-headed characters, which soon became stereotyped Experts therefore differed on the interpretation of their palaeographic evidence Dr. Buhler referred the Vākātaka grants to the fifth century A C[1], while Fleet[2] and Kielhorn[3], whose opinion Sukthankar[4] cited with approval, assigned them to the eighth century A C The latter view appeared to be supported by the mention, in Vākātaka grants, of *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta as the maternal grandfather of Pravarasēna II Fleet identified this Dēvagupta with *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta of Magadha, the son of Ādityasēna, mentioned in the Dēo-Barnārka inscription, who flourished towards the close of the seventh century A C The Vākātakas were therefore believed to have ruled in the seventh and eighth centuries A C This estimate of their age proved to be wide of the mark by the discovery, in 1912, of the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, which Prof K B Pathak and Rao Bahadur K N Dikshit first briefly noticed in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XLI, (1912), pp 214 f and later edited fully in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XV, pp 39 f These plates explicitly mention that Prabhāvatīguptā, the chief queen (*agra-mahishī*) of the Vākātaka king Rudrasena II and mother of the crown-prince Divākarasēna, was the daughter of the illustrious Gupta king *Mahārājādhirāja* Chandragupta II These plates, though discovered with a coppersmith of Poonā, really belong to the Hinganghāt *tahsil* of the Wardhā District in Vidarbha[5] The places mentioned in that grant could not be identified at the time, but the matrimonial relation of the Vākātakas and the Guptas explicitly stated therein placed Vākāṭaka chronology on a sound basis Thereafter, Vincent Smith, who had not written a single line on this dynasty in his *Early History of India* (third edition, published in 1914), wrote a long article on it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1914), pp 317 f, setting forth, with his characteristic precision and clarity, the available evidence of copper-plate grants and stone inscriptions, and giving a history of the dynasty based on it Later, Prof J Dubreuil[6] and Dr S K Aiyangar[7] threw more light on the history of this royal family It was, however, the late Dr K P Jayaswal who brought the Vākātakas into prominence and assigned them their rightful place in the ancient history of India In the book *History of India, 150 A D to 350 A D*, to which he gave the significant name 'Nāga-Vākātaka Imperial Period', Jayaswal tried to show that 'imperial rule and paramount sovereignty had been in the hands and keeping of the Vākātakas full sixty years before Samudragupta[8]' According to Jayaswal, Pravarasēna I, the son of Vindhyaśakti, evolved a clear political thesis "His thesis was a Hindu Empire for the whole of India and the enthronement of the Śāstras Secondly, a great literary movement in favour of Sanskrit begins about 250 A D and in 50 years reaches a pitch at which the Guptas take it up Thirdly, revival of Varnāśramadharma and Hindu orthodoxy is emphasised very pointedly, it was the cry of the time The society under the Vākātaka imperialism was seeking to purge the abuses crept in under Kushāna rule It was a Hindu Puritan Movement which was greatly fostered and which received a wide imperial implication under Pravarasēna I Fourthly, under the Vākāṭakas the art of sculpture and the graphic art of Ajantā which lay under their direct government

[1] *A S W.I*, Vol IV, p 119
[2] *C I I*, Vol III, Introduction, p 15
[3] *Ep Ind*, Vol III, pp 213 f
[4] *Ibid*, Vol XVII, p 13
[5] Below, p. 7.
[6] Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 71 f
[7] Aiyangar, *Ancient India* (published by Sardesai), Vol I, pp 91f
[8] Jayaswal, *History of India, 150 A.D to 350 A D*, p. 5.

were vivified The credit of the revival of Hindu art which had been universally attributed by the present-day writers wholly to the Guptas, like the credit of Sanskrit revival, really belongs to the Vākātakas "[1] Many of Jayaswal's theories about the Nāgas, Vākātakas and Pallavas have been shown by sober criticism to be untenable, but there is no doubt that his powerful advocacy of the Vākātakas brought that dynasty into prominence and served to obtain recognition for their achievements

Further progress in our knowledge of the history of the Vākātakas was made in 1939 by the discovery of a copper-plate grant of the Vākātaka king Vindhyaśakti II at Bāsim (or Vāśīm) in the Akōlā District of Vidarbha Before this discovery all writers who wrote on the Vākātakas believed that there was only one line of succession in the Vākātaka dynasty,[2] notwithstanding the explicit statement in the *Purānas* that Pravīra, the son of Vindhyaśakti, who is plainly identical with the Vākātaka *Samrāṭ* Pravarasēna I, had four sons, all of whom came to the throne,[3] and the discrepant evidence of the inscription in Ajantā Cave XVI which, multilated as it is, did not seem to give quite the same line of succession as the copper-plate grants[4] From the Bāsim plates, which I edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXVI, pp 137 f, I showed for the first time that the Vākātaka family branched off after the death of Pravarasena I The statement in the Purānas that he had four sons is probably correct Two of these are known—(i) Gautamīputra, who predeceased his father and whose son Rudrasēna I succeeded Pravarasēna I; and (ii) Sarvasēna, whose son Vindhyaśakti II issued the Bāsim plates I also showed from the inscription in Ajantā Cave XVI, which I re-deciphered from a fresh estampage[5], that the record contained the names, now partly mutilated, of the princes Sarvasēna and Vindhyasēna, the latter being evidently identical with Vindhyaśakti II, who issued the Bāsim plates It would seem, therefore, that the extensive empire of Pravarasēna I was divided among his sons after his death. His grandson Rudrasēna I obtained Northern Vidarbha as his patrimony, and ruled from the old capital Purikā Sarvasēna, the second son, obtained Southern Vidarbha extending to the Gōdāvarī. Where the other two sons were ruling is not yet known They may have held the country south of the Gōdāvarī as well as Dakshiṇa Kōsala. Their rule seems to have come to an end by the rise of the Early Rāshtrakūtas and the Śakas in Kuntala, and the Nalas and others in Dakshina Kōsala In my article on the Rāshtrakūtas of Mānapura[6], published in 1944, I showed that Mānānka, the progenitor of this Rāshtrakūta family, flourished about 375 A C and ruled from Mānapura which is probably identical with the modern village Mān on the Mān river in the Sātārā District of the Mahārāshtra State Later, from some coins discovered in the excavations at Kōṇḍāpur and other places I showed that a Śaka dynasty flourished in the Mahisha country comprising the southern portion of the former Hyderabad State and the adjoining territory[7] It was founded by the Śaka king Māna who rose to power after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas These Early Rāshtrakūtas and the Śakas were thus the southern neighbours of the Vākātakas.

---

[1]Jayaswal, *History of India, 150 A D to 350 A D*, pp. 95 f

[2]Aiyangar thought that there was a dispute about succession after the death of Pravarasēna II, and Narēndrasēna probably took the kingdom from an elder brother *Ancient India*, p 114.

[3]Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p 50

[4]For this see *A.S W.I*, Vol. IV, p. 128. The names of Vākātaka princes mentioned in this Ajantā inscription have to be revised as shown below, pp. 104 f.

[5]*Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 14.

[6]*A B O R.I*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36 f.

[7]*J.N S.I*, Vol XI, pp. 1 f, Vol. XII, pp 90 f, Vol. XV, pp 115 f

Some more light on the history of the Vākātakas was also thrown by the inscriptions[1] and coins[2] of the Nalas, who once invaded their territory and occupied some portion of their dominion, and also by the records[3] of the Sōmavamśīs, who were their feudatories ruling in Mēkalā

From this résumé of Vākātaka history it will be seen how our knowledge of this royal family has increased gradually during the last hundred and twenty-five years There are still some dark corners of its history on which more light may be thrown by future discoveries, but it is now possible to give a fair outline of that history and to form a rather rough estimate of the achievements of the Vākātakas. For this an attempt is made in the following pages

[1] *Ep Ind*, Vol. XIX, pp 100 f., Vol. XXI, pp 153 f, XXVIII, pp 12 f.
[2] *J N.S.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 29 f.
[3] *Ep. Ind*, Vol XXVII, pp. 132 f.

CHAPTER II

VĀKĀTAKA CHRONOLOGY

THE Vākātaka chronology is still more or less conjectural, but there are a few fixed points Though Dr Jayaswal's view that the Kalachuri-Chēdi era was originally founded by the Vākātaka king Vindhyaśakti I[1] is untenable as none of the records of the Vākātakas themselves are dated in it, it is not unlikely that Vindhyaśakti I rose to power about the same time as the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna *i e* in *circa* 250 A C He may have ruled for about twenty years (*c.* 250 to 270 A C)[2] His son Pravarasēna I is credited in the Purānas with a reign of sixty years[3] This is not unlikely in view of his performance of four Aśvamēdhas and several Vājapēya and other Śrauta sacrifices He may therefore have flourished from *c* 270 to 330 A C Pravarasēna I's long reign is also indicated by the fact that he was succeeded in the elder branch not by a son, but by a grandson, *viz* Rudrasēna I This latter prince may have ruled for about twenty years (*c* 330 to 350 A C) When his son Prithvīshēna I succeeded him, his family had been ruling over the kingdom for a hundred years (250 to 350 A C) and this is in keeping with the description in the Vākātaka grants that his treasure and army had been accumulating for a hundred years[4] Prithivīshēna I seems to have had a long reign, for he is said to have lived to see a succession of sons and grandsons Besides, his son Rudrasēna II was a junior contemporary of the Gupta king Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya (*c* 380-413 A C), whose daughter Prabhāvatīguptā was married to him Vincent Smith's conjecture that this matrimonial alliance of the Guptas and the Vākātakas occurred at the time of Chandragupta II's invasion of the territory of the Śaka Satraps of Gujarāt and Saurāshtra 'somewhere about 395 A C[5]' appears quite plausible Rudrasēna II therefore may have come to the throne in *c* 400 A C He had a short reign of about 5 years (*c* 400 to 405 A C); for his dowager queen Prabhāvatīguptā was acting as a regent for her son *Yuvarāja* Divākarasēna for at least 13 years Divākarasēna seems to have died soon after the issue of the Poonā plates of his mother Prabhāvatīguptā, for, no other grant of his reign has come down to us He may therefore be referred to the period *c* 405 to 420 A C He was succeeded by his younger brother Dāmōdarasēna *alias* Pravarasēna II, who had a long reign of about thirty years[6] (*c* 420 to 450 A C) His son Narēndrasēna and grandson Prithivīshēna II may have each ruled for about twenty years, the former from *c* 450 to 470 A C , and the latter from *c.* 470 to 490 A C The period thus conjecturally assigned to Prithivīshēna II's reign is corroborated by the date of his feudatory, the Uchchakalpa prince Vyāghra[7], whose stone inscriptions have been found at Nachnā and Ganj in Madhya Pradesh The latter's son Jayanātha was ruling in the Gupta years 174 and 177[8] His reign may have extended from G 170

---

[1] *History of India*, etc , pp 109 f

[2] I adopt the reading समा षण्णवतिं भूत्वा पृथिवी तु समेष्यति given by a MS of the *Vāyupurāna* *D K.A.*, p. 48, f n. 86.

[3] Cf. विन्ध्यशक्तिसुतश्चापि प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान् । भोक्ष्यते च समा षष्टिं पुरिका चनका च वै।। ।। *Ibid*, p 50.

[4] Cf. वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिण in No 3, line 11.

[5] *J R A S*, (1914), pp 317 f.

[6] His Pāndhurnā plates (No. 14) are dated in the twenty-ninth regnal year.

[7] Vyāghra was not a feudatory of Prithivīshēna I as supposed by some scholars. See below, pp. 89f.

[8] For a detailed discussion of the identification of the era in which the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings are recorded, see my article entitled 'The Dates of Uchchakalpa Kings' in *Ep. Ind*, Vol XXIII, pp 171 f

to G 190. Vyāghra, his father, was therefore probably ruling from *c* G 150 to G. 170, *i.e.* from *c* 470 to 490 A.C. He was thus a contemporary of the Vākātaka Prithvīshēna II, to whom we have conjecturally assigned the same period 470-490 A.C.

As regards the Vatsagulma Branch, its founder Sarvasēna was a contemporary of Rudrasēna I of the Main Branch. He may therefore have flourished from *c* 330 to 355 A.C. His son Vindhyasēna or Vindhyaśakti II had a long reign of more than 37 years[1]. He may have ruled for 40 or even 45 years. He may therefore be placed in the period *c* 355-400 A.C. His successor Pravarasēna II appears to have died young, for his son, whose name is unfortunately lost in the mutilated Ajantā inscription, came to the throne at the early age of 8 years. Pravarasēna II of this branch may therefore have ruled from *c.* 400 to 410 A.C., and his son from 410 to 450 A.C. Dēvasēna, who succeeded the latter, may be referred to the period 450 to 475 A.C., and his son Harishēna to *c* 475 to 500 A.C. If the story in the eighth chapter of the *Daśakumāracharita* has a historical basis,[2] Harishēṇa may have been succeeded by his son, who ruled for about ten years (*c* 500 to 510 A.C.) Thereafter, the country was conquered by the Kalachuri king Kṛishnarāja.

The Vākātaka chronology[3] may therefore be stated as follows —

Vindhyaśakti I (250 A.C.)
- Pravarasēna I (270 A.C.)
  - Main Branch
    - (Gautamīputra)
      - Rudrasēna I (330 A.C.)
        - Prithivīshēna I (350 A.C.)
          - Rudrasēna II (400 A.C.)
            - Divākarasēna (405 A.C.)
            - Dāmōdarasēna Pravarasēna II (420 A.C.)
              - Narēndrasēna (450 A.C.)
                - Pṛithivīshēna II (470 A.C.)
  - Vatsagulma Branch
    - Sarvasēna (330 A.C.)
      - Vindhyaśakti II or Vindhyasena (355 A.C.)
        - Pravarasēna II (400 A.C.)
          - Son (unnamed) (410 A.C.)
            - Dēvasēna (450 A.C.)
              - Harishēna (475 A.C.)
                - Son (Name unknown) (500 A.C.)

The chronology given above agrees generally with that fixed by Dr Altekar, but differs from the one suggested by Dr R. C. Majumdar and adopted by Dr D C Sircar. I have examined the latter in an Appendix.

[1] No 23.

[2] See below, Chapter VI

[3] The years in the brackets give the approximate dates of accession

APPENDIX

A NOTE ON DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR'S GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

Dr R C Majumdar has discussed the question of the genealogy and chronology of the Vākātakas in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol XII, pp 1 f He gives the following genealogy with the duration of each reign —

Vindhyaśakti I (250 A C)
- Pravarasēna I (270 A C)
  - Main (Branch)
    - (Gautamīputra)
      - Rudrasēna I (330 A C)
        - Prithivīshēna I (375 A C)
          - Rudrasēna II (400 A C)
            - Divākarasēna (420 A C)
            - Dāmōdarasēna (435 A C)
            - Pravarasēna II (450 A C)
              - Narēndrasēna (480 A C)
                - Prithivīshēna II (505 A.C)
  - (Vatsagulma Branch)
    - Sarvasēna (330 A C)
      - Vindhyasēna or Vindhyaśakti II (350 A.C)
        - Pravarsēna II (390 A C)
          - Son (name lost) (410 A C)
            - Dēvasēna (450 A C)
              - Harishēna (475 A C)

This chronology is based on the following evidence —

(i) The Riddhapur plates dated in the 19th regnal year of Pravarasēna II describe the dowager queen Prābhavatīguptā as *sāgra-varsha-śata-diva-putra-pautrā* This passage means that Prabhavatīguptā lived for more than a hundred years and had sons and grandsons She appears to have survived her brother Kumāragupta whose reign came to an end in 455 A C She was probably born about 365 A C She became a widow about 420 A.C when she had three minor sons Divākarasēna, Dāmodarasēna and Pravarasēna. She acted as regent for Divākarasēna for thirteen years As the 100th year of Prabhāvatīguptā fell before the 19th regnal year of Pravarasēna II, working backwards we get the following approximate years of the accession of her three sons—Divākarasēna 420 A.C, Dāmodarasēna 435 A C and Pravarasēna 450 A C

(ii) Narēndrasēna of the Main Branch and Harishēna of the Bāsim Branch were contemporaries, being sixth in descent from their common ancestor Pravarasēna I Narēndrasēna's son Prithivīshēna II was therefore junior to Harishēna From the list of conquests attributed to Harishēna it seems that he overran the territory of the main Vākātaka branch Prithivīshēṇa II, who is said to have rescued the fortunes of the family, possibly defeated Harishēna or his successor He was the suzerain of Vyāghradēva who ruled in the Nachnā-Ganj territory

I now proceed to examine this chronological scheme

The main plank in the chronological structure raised by Dr Majumdar is the description of Prabhāvatīguptā in the Riddhapur plates The expression actually occurs in the following form —*sāgra-varsha-śata-diva-putra-pautrā* This has been variously interpreted The editor of the grant suggested the following two renderings (i) one who has sons and grandsons, a life of full hundred years and will ((*in the end*) live in heaven, and (ii) who has renowned sons and grandsons and who has lived a life of full hundred years Of these, the first rendering is unacceptable, as the simple word *diva* in that expression cannot yield the meaning 'who will in the end live in heaven'. The second rendering (with the change of *diva* into *divya*) is also equally open to objection as *divya* means 'heavenly', not 'renowned' Dr Majumdar has ingeniously suggested the reading *jīva* in place of *diva*[1] He takes the expression *sāgra-varsha-śata-jīva-putra-pautrā* to mean that Prabhāvatīguptā lived for more than a hundred years and had sons and grandsons living at the time As this expression is pivotal for his theory, it requires to be examined carefully

Dr Majumdar apparently takes the expression *sāgra-varsha-śata-jīva-putra-pautrā* as a compound consisting of two adjectival expressions *sāgra-varsha-śatā* and *jīva-putra-pautrā*, the first referring to her own age of full hundred years and the latter stating that her sons and grandsons were living at the time As the compound stands, the expression *sāgra-varsha-śata-jīva* appears to be connected with *putra-pautrā*, the intended dissolution being *sāgra-varsha-śatam jīvanti iti tādriśā putrā pautrāś=cha yasyāh sā* To have living sons and grandsons is regarded as a sign of good fortune and so the epithet *jīva-putrā* is often noticed in the description of women in literature and inscriptions[2] The preceding expression indicating long life must evidently be connected with *jīva*. The expression refers to the long life of her sons and grandsons, not her own To a Hindu widow like Prabhāvatīguptā, a long life of a hundred years is most distasteful It is not a source of joy No widow is likely to boast of it We must note in this connection that the expression occurs in Prabhāvatīguptā's own grant The long life mentioned in it must therefore be taken to refer to her sons and grandsons

It may, however, be asked, 'How could the sons and grandsons of Prabhāvatīguptā have been a hundred years old in the 19th year of Pravarasēna II?' The question is easily answered The intention is to express the wish that they would be long-lived It is like the attributive adjective *āyushmat* or *dirghāyus* noticed in the description of small children[3] It would be wrong to infer from it that the children were then long-lived The expression in Prabhāvatīguptā's grant is of the same type The only difference is that instead of an indefinite expression indicating long life like *dīrghāyus*, one denoting a life of full hundred years is used The expression must therefore be taken to mean that Prabhāvatīguptā had at that time sons and grandsons who, it was hoped, would be long-lived. It does not refer to the long life of Prabhāvatīguptā herself at all

---

[1] This was first pointed out by Prof Jagan Nath in *P.I H.C*, Vol IV, pp 58 f.

[2] Cf (i) वय जीवा जीवपुत्रा अनागस । *Rigvēda*, X, 36, 9
(ii) जानासि मे जीवपुत्रे भाव नित्यमविग्रहे ।
क्रोशते न च गृह्णीते वचन मे सुयोधन । *Mahābhārata*, V, 144, 2
(iii) जीवपुत्रे निवर्तस्व पुत्र रक्षस्व चाङ्गदम् ।
अन्तको रामरूपेण हत्वा नयति वालिनम् ।। *Rāmāyana*, IV, 19, 11.
(iv) जीवसुताय राजमातुय वचनेन in Nāsik Cave Inscription, *Ep. Ind*, Vol. VIII, p. 73

[3] See *e g* the words of Kausalyā in the *Uttararāmacharita*, when she sees Lava being dragged away by the boys of Vālmiki's hermitage, eager to see the horse of Aśvamēdha--भअवदि जाणामि एद अणवेक्खती वञ्च-आमि विअ । ता एदो अण्णदो भविअ पेक्खम्ह दाव गच्छमाण दीहाबु । *Uttararāmacharita*, Act iv. Here Kausalyā uses *dirghāyusham* (long-lived) as an attribute of Lava, who was in his teens.

The foundation on which Dr Majumdar's theory is based is thus extremely shaky I shall now proceed to examine the subsidiary evidence adduced by him

(i) To account for Prabhāvatīguptā's age of more than a hundred years in the nineteenth regnal year of Pravarasēna II, Dr Majumdar supposes that the Vākātaka queen had three sons, Divākarasēna, Dāmodarasēna and Pravarasēna According to him, she was born about 365 A C and became a widow in 420 A C, i e when she was in the advanced age of 55 years Her eldest son was then about six years old If this is correct, we shall have to suppose that Prabhāvatī had no male children till she was nearly fifty years old, or that all her sons born before had died, and that after that age she had these three sons in close succession This appears very unlikely As Dr Majumdar has himself said, 'in all cases where nothing definite is known, we shall proceed on the basis of a reasonable and probable state of things' No grants made by Dāmodarasēna have been discovered. Besides, the description in the Riddhapur plates seems to point to his identity with Pravarasēna II The expression *Vākāṭakānām Mahārāja-Dāmodarasēna-Pravarasēna-jananī* occurs in the description of Prabhāvatīguptā It uses the phrase *Vākātakānām Mahārāja* in connection with the name of Dāmodarasēna, but not with that of Pravarasēna II When we remember how particular the drafters of Vākātaka grants were about the use of this title in connection with the name of every Vākātaka king who actually reigned, it looks strange that the title should not have been prefixed to the name of Pravarasēna II, who was actually ruling at the time Again, there is no reason why the name of Divakārasēna should have been omitted It seems probable therefore that Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna II were identical, and that the latter name was adopted by the prince at the time of his accession From the Jāmb plates dated in the second regnal year of Pravarasēna II it seems clear that this prince had come of age when he began to reign Prabhāvatīguptā's regency does not seem to have continued long after the issue of the Poonā plates dated in the thirteenth year evidently of the boy-prince Divākarasēna's reign It does not therefore seem likely that Prabhāvatīguptā was a hundred years old in the nineteenth regnal year of Pravarasēna II

(ii) Dr. Majumdar says that Narēndrasēna of the main branch and Harishēna of the Vastagulma branch were contemporaries, because both of them were sixth in descent[1] from their common ancestor Pravarasēna I We cannot, however, be certain about the contemporaneity of princes by counting generations, for, the reign-periods of kings vary greatly Besides, though Narēndrasēna was sixth in descent from Pravarasēna I, one of his ancestors, *viz*, Gautamīputra did not reign Narēndrasēna was therefore probably a contemporary of Dēvasēna Consequently, Prithivīshēna II and Harishēna may have ruled in the same period As the latter claims to have conquered Avanti or Mālwā, he must have overrun the territory of the main branch He had probably annexed it after the death of Pṛithivīshēna II

(iii) As for the restoration of the fortune of his family by Prithivīshēna II, that need not refer to any struggle with Harishēna We know that there were wars between the main branch of the Vākātakas and the Nalas of Pushkarī Bhavadatta of the Nala dynasty had overrun the Vākātaka territory and occupied Nandivardhana, the erstwhile Vākāṭaka capital The Nalas admit that their own capital was devastated by the enemy some time before the reign of Skandavarman, the son of Bhavadattavarman, who resettled it It

[1] Really speaking, it was Prithivshēna II who was a contemporary of Harishena. See the Genealogical Table on p. vi

is easy to surmise that this enemy, though not named in the inscription, was the contemporary Vākātaka king. The restoration of the fortune of the Vākāṭaka family mentioned in the Bālāghāṭ plates probably refers to the reoccupation of Northern Vidarbha by Prithivīshena II.

The scheme of the genealogy and chronology of the Vākātakas proposed by Dr. Majumdar thus goes against the available evidence of the Vākātaka and other inscriptions and is therefore untenable

CHAPTER III

THE HOME OF THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

THE Vākātakas are generally believed to be of northern origin Thus, Vincent Smith, in his article on the Vākāṭakas, says, 'If Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasēna are the same persons as Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra of the Purānas, the origin of the family must be sought somewhere in the area now known as Central India'. Jayaswal went one step further and derived the dynastic name Vākātaka from *Vakāta* or *Vākāṭa* on the analogy of *Traikūtaka*, which is plainly formed from *Trikūta* He identified this Vākāta, the supposed home-land of the Vākātakas, with Bāgāt, a village in the northernmost part of the former Ōrchhā State, six miles east of Chirgaon in the District of Jhānsī 'The Brāhmana', says Jayaswal, 'who, according to the Purānas, was the first annointed king and the founder of the dynasty and who assumed the appropriate appellation of Vindhyaśakti, adopted the name of his own town as his dynastic title' The northern origin of the Vākātakas has been tacitly admitted by almost all scholars who have written on this subject[1] I therefore propose to examine critically the evidence on which it is based

(1) The main basis of this theory of the northern origin of the Vākātakas is the following passage in the Purānas[2] —

नृपान्वैदेशिकाश्चापि भविष्यास्तु निबोधत ।
शेषस्य नागराजस्य पुत्रः परपुरञ्जयः ॥
भोगो भविष्यते राजा नृपो नागकुलोद्वह॰ ।
सदाचन्द्रस्तु चन्द्राशो द्वितीयो नखवास्तथा ॥
धनधर्मा ततश्चापि चतुर्थो वङ्गरः स्मृतः ।
भूतिनन्दस्ततश्चापि वैदिशे तु भविष्यति ॥
तस्य भ्राता यवीयास्तु नाम्ना नन्दियशा॰ किल ।
तस्यान्वये भविष्यन्ति राजानस्ते त्रयस्तु वै ॥
दौहित्र शिशुको नाम पुरिकाया नृपोऽभवत् ।
विन्ध्यशक्तिसुतश्चापि प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान् ॥
भोक्ष्यते च समा॰ षष्टि पुरीं काञ्चनका च वै ।
यक्ष्यते वाजपेयैश्च समाप्तवरदक्षिणै॰ ॥
तस्य पुत्रास्तु चत्वारो भविष्यन्ति नराधिपा. ॥

This passage is introduced with the words, 'Hear also the future rulers of Vidiśā', and mentions towards the close the names of Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra, who are undoubtedly kings of the Vākātaka dynasty It has, therefore, been supposed that Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra ruled somewhere in Central India, not far from Vidiśā, modern Bēsnagar near Bhilsā This passage mentions several kings, but none of them, with the exception of the two mentioned above, are known from any other source. Besides, it is not clear how far the scope of the introductory statement नृपान्वैदेशिकाश्चापि भविष्यास्तु निबोधत extends That all the kings mentioned in this passage were not of Vidiśā was realised by Pargiter also, who gave the heading 'Dynasties of Vidiśā, etc' to it. It is noteworthy that the passage introduces Śiśuka, the ruler of Purikā, in verse 5 Purikā, we know from the

[1] See *e.g* *N H.I P*, Vol VI, p 96 The southern origin of the Vākātakas was first pointed out by me in *N U J.*, No 3, pp 22 f

[2] *D K A*, pp 49-50

Harivaṁśa[1], was situated at the foot of the Ṛikshavat mountain, which is usually identified with the Sātpudā range. The town was therefore situated south of the Vindhyas. Pravīra (or Pravarasēna I), the son of Vindhyaśakti, is mentioned in this passage immediately after Śiśuka, probably because that Vākātaka prince succeeded the latter in that territory It may be noted in this connection that Purikā appears to be mentioned as a capital of Pravīra in the next verse Pargiter gives the following reading of it —

विन्ध्यशक्तिसुतश्चापि प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान् ।
भोक्ष्यते च समा षष्टिं पुरीं काञ्चनकां च वै ॥

If this reading is adopted, the name of the Vākātaka capital would be Kāñchanakā, but this reading would make the particle *cha* meaningless and inserted in the line merely for *pādapūrana* I, therefore, adopt Jayaswal's ingenious emendation भोक्ष्यते च समा. षष्टि पुरिका चनका च वै meaning that Pravarasēna ruled from two capitals Purikā and Chanakā The verse, if thus read, would satisfactorily explain why the Vākātaka king is mentioned immediately after Śiśuka He evidently annexed the latter's kingdom and made Purikā a second capital of his empire, which thus extended to the Vindhyas in the north. This passage in the *Purānas* does not, therefore, give any indication that the Vākātakas originally belonged to Central India

(2) Another argument which is sometimes advanced to prove the northern origin of the Vākātakas is the identification of Rudradēva mentioned in the Allāhābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta with Rudrasēna I of the Vākātaka dynasty This implies the existence of the Vākātaka empire in North India during the reigns of the early kings, Rudrasēna I and his grandfather Pravarasēna I. The identification is, however, extremely unlikely. Rudradēva, who is mentioned in that inscription as a king of Āryāvarta exterminated by Samudragupta, must have been previously ruling north of the Vindhyas. We have, however, no inscription of the reign of the Vākātaka Rudrasēna I or of any earlier king of the dynasty from North India The only record of Rudrasēna I discovered so far is the stone inscription found at Dēotēk in the Chāndā District of Vidarbha[2] Rudrasēna I was, therefore, ruling in Vidarbha, not in Central India Besides, as Dr Altekar has already observed,[3] if Rudrasēna I had been exterminated by Samudragputa, it is extremely unlikely that his son Prithivīshēna I would ever have selected a Gupta princess (*viz* Prabhāvatīguptā) to be his daughter-in-law For all these reasons, the identification of Rudradēva of the Allāhābād pillar inscription with the Vākātaka Rudrasēna I is extremely unlikely and it cannot substantiate the northern origin of the Vākātakas

(3) The surest indication of the rule of any king in a particular territory is the original findspot of his stone inscriptions Copper-plates and coins are easily carried from place to place and are sometimes found hundreds of miles away from their original places Stone inscriptions are generally not transported in this manner Now, there is not a single inscription of any Vākātaka king found north of the Vindhyas Two stone inscriptions[4] of a prince named Vyāghradēva, who describes himself as ' meditating on the feet of the Vākātaka Prithivīshēna' have, however, been discovered in Central India—one at Nachnē-ki-talāi in the former Jasō State, and the other at Ganj in the former

[1] Cf *Harivamśa*, Vishnuparvan, 38, 22, ऋक्षवन्त समभितस्तीरे तत्र निरामये। निर्मिता सा पुरी राज्ञा पुरिका नाम नामत ॥ Rikshavat is mentioned in the *Vishnupurāna* as 'the source of the Tāpī, Payōshnī and Nirvindhyā and therefore corresponds to the Sātpudā mountain Cf तापीपयोष्णीनिर्विन्ध्याप्रमुखा ऋक्षसम्भवा ॥

[2] No. 1

[3] *N H.I P*, Vol. VI, p. 105

[4] Nos. 20-21 and 22

Ajaigadh State This Prithivīshēna is identified by some scholars with the first Vākātaka king of that name, who flourished in the period 350-400 A C These records are sometimes cited to prove that the Vākātakas had an empire north of the Vindhyas prior to that of the Guptas The paleographic evidence which has been recently adduced to prove the early age of these inscriptions[1] is not conclusive Besides, there is no other vestige of the extension of Vākātaka supremacy in that region as early as the reign of Prithivīshēna I On the other hand, Vyāghradēva of the aforementioned Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions is probably identical with the Uchchakalpa prince of the same name mentioned in the grants of his son Jayanātha who flourished in the last quarter of the fifth century A C [2] His suzerain Prithivīshēna was therefore the second Vākātaka king of that name who flourished from about 470 A C to 490 A C That the Vākātakas had extended their supremacy north of the Vindhyas during the reign of Prithivīshēna II's father Narēndrasēna is also known from the expression *Kōsalā-Mekalā-Mālav-ābhyarchchita-śāsanah* used in the Bālāghāt plates to describe Narendrasēna [3] This is again confirmed by the evidence of the Pāndavavamśī king Bharatalala who covertly refers to his suzerain Narēndrasēna [4] This Bharatabala ruled over Mēkalā as stated expressly in the grant No other king of the name of Vyāghra is known to have ruled in Central India in the age of the Vākātakas Vyāghradēva of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions therefore belonged to the Uchchakalpa dynasty and was a feudatory of the Vākātaka Prithivīshēna II and not of Prithivīshēna I, who flourished nearly 120 years earlier These inscriptions do not, therefore, evidence any early rule of the Vākātakas, much less their home-land, north of the Vindhyas

(4) As stated before, the find-spots of copper-plates and coins afford no sure proof of the rule of any dynasty in a particular territory Still, their evidence also has to be considered in the absence of other proofs The only copper-plate grant of the Vākātakas said to have been found in North India is that recorded on the so-called Indore plates[5] of Pravarasēna II These plates were found in the collection of the late Pandit Vāmanaśāstrī Islāmpurkar It is well known that the Pandit was engaged in collecting old Sanskrit manuscripts and historical records from different parts of the country I have shown elsewhere that two other grants[6] found in his collection at Indore were originally from Khāndēsh and the places mentioned in them can also be located in Khāndēsh As all other copper-plate grants of the Vākātakas discovered so far originally came from Vidarbha, the Indore copper-plate grant also, in all probability, belongs to the same part of the country None of the places mentioned in it have been located in North India [7]

As for coins, Jayaswal drew attention to some coins of North Indian fabric which he attributed to the Vākātakas The coin with the legend *Pravarasenasya*[8] bears, according to Jayaswal, the date 76, and that having the legend *Rudra*,[9] the date 100 Jayaswal referred these dates to the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era commencing in 248 A C , which, accord-

---

[1] In *H C.I P*, Vol III, p. 179, n 1 D C Sircar has drawn attention to the triangular *v* and the old forms of *j* and *t*, which, according to him, evidence an early date for Vyāghradēva's feudatory Prithivīshēna, but the evidence is inconclusive See below pp 89 f See also my article on this subject in *Dr S. K Belvalkar Felicitation Volume*, pp 286 f

[2] *C I I*, Vol. III, Nos 26 and 27.

[3] No 18, pp. 27-28

[4] No 19, lines 31-34

[5] No 9

[6] *C.I I*, Vol IV, pp. 5 f

[7] I have identified some of them in the Bālāghāt District See below, p 40

[8] *History of India*, etc., pp 52 f.

[9] *Ibid*, pp. 108 f.

ing to him, was really started by the Vākātakas. If his readings of the legends and dates and the identification of the era are correct, these coins may indicate the extension of Vākataka rule north of the Vindhyas during the reigns of the early Vākātaka rulers Pravarasēna I and Rudrasēna I But Jayaswal's readings and interpretations have been disputed by other scholars Dr. Altekar has shown that the coin attributed to Pravarasēna is really of Vīrasēna The symbols which Dr Jayaswal supposed to be the date 76 are really the branches of a tree in railing As for the coins of Rudrasēna I, what he took to be the letters *Rudra* is really the *tri-ratna* symbol The symbol supposed to denote the date 100 is clearly a *svastika* [1] So these coins cannot be attributed to any Vākātaka king. In fact, the Vākātakas did not strike any coins, but used the currency of the Guptas throughout their kingdom Several gold coins of Chandragupta II have been found in Vidarbha The silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas also may have been current in their territory. Some hoards of Kshatrapa coins have been found in the Chhindwādā and other districts of Madhya Pradēsh Again, even supposing that the readings of the dates on these coins are correct, they cannot be referred to the era of 248 A C That era was not started by the Vākātakas[2] and has not been used in dating any Vākātaka grant All inscriptions of the Vākātakas are dated in regnal years. As a matter of fact, the era was introduced in Vidarbha *after* the downfall of the Vākātakas The only date of that era found in Vidarbha occurs in the recently discovered Nandivardhana plates of Svāmirāja, who was probably a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Krishnarāja [3]

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that neither the era nor the coins are of the Vākātakas There is thus not an iota of evidence to prove that the Vākātakas originally hailed from North India

I shall now proceed to state some evidence which indicates that the original home of the dynasty was in the Deccan

(i) The earliest mention of the name *Vākātaka* occurs in the following record[4] incised on a fragment of an octagonal pillar at Amarāvatī in the Guntur District of Andhra State. It is in Prakrit and is in characters of about the third century A C

Inscription No 126—[5]

Line 1 गामे वाथवस गहपतिस वाकाटकस गहपतिकिनि
,, 2 ना थेरेन बोधिकेन भरियाय चमुनाय सभतुकेहि
,, 3 केहि सनातिमितबधवेहि च अपनो आयुवधनिक

The inscription is unfortunately fragmentary, but its extant portion shows that it was intended to record the gift of a *grihapati* (householder) named Vākātaka and his two wives, one of whom was named Chamunā. The gift was made by them at the instance of a Thēra (Buddhist Bhikshu) named Bōdhika and for the longevity of themselves and their agnates (*jñatis*), friends and relatives Vākātaka is used here as a personal name and not as a family name This record shows that the *grihapati* Vākātaka had gone to Amarāvatī with his wives to make donations there for the longevity of himself, his wives and relatives The name of the native village was mentioned in the beginning of the first line, but it is now lost In view of the difficulties of travelling in those days it would not be

[1] *JNSI*, Vol V, pp 130 f
[2] It was probably started by the Abhīra king Īśvarasēna *C I I*, Vol IV, pp xxiii f.
[3] *Ibid*, Vol. IV, pp. 611 f.
[4] *Ep Ind*, Vol XV, p 267 and plate.
[5] This number is cited from *Amarāvatī Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 304.

wrong to infer that this *gṛihapati* Vākātaka was the resident of a country not very far from Amarāvatī It may be noted in this connection that the inscriptions discovered at Amarāvatī generally mention countries, rivers and places of South India such as Draviḍa, the Krishṇā, the Godāvarī, Dhanakataka and Kantakaśaila [1] The only places of North India which I have noticed in the 126 inscriptions of Amarāvatī that have been published so far are Rājagriha and Pātaliputra, mentioned as places of residence of monks who or whose disciples made certain donations at Amarāvatī The inference that the *gṛihapati* Vākātaka mentioned in inscription No 126 was a resident of South India would thus appear reasonable

On palaeographic grounds this inscription has been referred to the third century A C The *gṛihapati* Vākātaka mentioned in it was not therefore far removed in time from Vindhyaśakti I, who seems to have come into prominence about 250 A C This *gṛihapati* was in all probability the progenitor of the Vākātaka family even as Gupta was of the Gupta family What social or official status he had, we do not know; but he was apparently of sufficient importance to be regarded as the progenitor of the family This Vākātaka was then a follower of Buddhism, but later on he or his descendants seem to have changed their religious faith and become staunch supporters of the Vedic religion Several instances of such change of faith can be cited from the ancient history of India.

(2) There are several other indications of the southern origin of the Vākāṭakas In the formal portions of Vākāṭaka grants there occur several technical terms which are noticed in the Hirahadgallī and Mayidavōlu plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. Some of these may be given here

	Expressions in the Bāsim plates	Corresponding expressions in the Pallava grants
1.	अरट्ठसविणयिक	अरट्ठसविनयिक
2	अलवणकेण्णक्खनक	अलोणगुलच्छोभ
3	अपुप्फक्खिरग्गहण	अवूधदधिगहणं
4.	अभडप्पावेस	अभडपपेस
5.	अपरपरगोबलिवर्द्द	अपारपरबलिवद्दगहण
6	अखट्टाचोल्लकवेणेसिक	अकरयोल्लकविनेसिखट्टावास

These similarities are surely not accidental. They presuppose some connection of the Vākātakas with the Pallavas It is also possible that both these dynasties borrowed these expressions from earlier Sātavāhana inscriptions No such technical terms have, however, been noticed in any early grants of North India

(3) Again, the titles *Hāritīputra* and *Dharmamahārāja*, mentioned in connection with the earliest Vākātaka kings Pravarasēna I, Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśakti II in the Bāsim plates, unmistakably point to the southern origin of the family, for, these titles are noticed in the early grants of only southern dynasties such as the Vinhukada Sātakarnis, the Pallavas, the Kadambas and the Early Chālukyas. They are not found in the early grants of any northern dynasty

(4) Finally, the patronage that the Vākātakas extended to a ministerial family of South India for several generations may also indicate their southern origin This family was named Vallūra after the village Vallūra ' in the southern region which was its original place of residence' This place has not yet been definitely identified, but it may be the same as modern Vēlur which lies about 30 miles north by east of Hyderābād in the Yelgandal

[1] See the list of geographical names *ibid* pp 332 f

District of the former Hyderābād State. The progenitor of this family was Yajñapati His son Dēva, who was a contemporary of Vindhyaśakti and perhaps also of his son Pravarasēna I, is described in the Ghatōtkacha cave inscription as a very pious Brāhmana, at whose instance the whole kingdom including the king engaged itself in the performance of religious rites From Vākātaka inscriptions also we have evidence of a phenomenal religious activity in this period Pravarasēna I, who was the real founder of Vākātaka imperial power, is said to have performed several sacrifices such as Agnishtōma, Āptōiyāma, Ukthya, Shōdaśin, Atirātra, Vājapēya, Brihaspatisava and Sādyaskra, besides four Aśvamēdhas. No other early king of North or South India, except Mādhavavarman I of the Vishnukuṇḍin dynasty, is known to have performed so many Śrauta sacrifices It is not unlikely that he was encouraged in this by this pious Brāhmana minister Dēva Ravi, the grandson of Dēva, is said to have established his sway over the whole territory (*kṛit-ādhipatyaṁ vishayē samagrē*) He was a contemporary of the Vākātaka king Sarvasēna who founded a separate kingdom with Vatsagulma as its capital Ravi may have assisted Sarvasēna in extending the limits of his patrimony by making fresh conquests The last two known members of this family, Hastibhōja and Varāhadēva, were the capable ministers of the Vākātaka kings Dēvasēna and Harishēna respectively It will be seen that the two families—ministerial and royal—which were intimately connected with each other for several generations, rose to distinction in the same period The ministerial family hailed from Vallūra which, as shown above, may be identified with Vēlur in the Central Deccan The original habitation of the *gṛihapati* Vākātaka cannot be determined owing to the unfortunate mutilation of Inscription No 126 at Amarāvatī, but it was also probably situated in the Central Deccan This also affords the most plausible explanation of how the Vākātakas rose to power in Vidarbha or Central Deccan immediately after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas

The evidence adduced above will, I hope, convince readers that **the original home of the Vākāṭakas was in South India.**

CHAPTER IV

EARLY RULERS

THE middle of the third century A.C. marks the commencement of an important epoch in the history of South India. The Sātavāhanas, who had held a major part of the peninsula for an unusually long period of more than four centuries and a half, disappear from the stage of history about this time. Pulumāvi IV is the last known king of the Andhra (i.e. Sātavāhana) dynasty mentioned in the *Purānas*. His rock inscription has been found at Adōnī in the Bellāry District of Andhra State[1], while his potin coins have been discovered at Tarhālā in the Akōlā District of Vidarbha[2]. He therefore probably ruled over an extensive kingdom stretching from the Narmadā in the north to the Tungabhadrā in the south. After his downfall in *circa* 250 A.C., several small kingdoms appear to have risen in the different provinces which had previously been under his sway. The *Purānas* say that on the dismemberment of the Andhra Empire the servants of the Andhras, viz. the Śrīparvatīyas, Andhras, Ābhīras, Gardabhilas, Śakas, Yavanas, Tushāras, Murundas and Hūnas would rise to power.[3] This statement has, to a certain extent, been corroborated by the discovery of inscriptions and coins. We know that the Ābhīras carved out a kingdom for themselves in Northern Mahārāshtra, Kōnkan and Gujarāt,[4] and the Śrīparavatīyas or the Ikshvākus did the same in the lower Krishnā valley.[5] Again, we have numismatic evidence of the rise of a Śaka dynasty in the southern parts of the Hyderabad State after the overthrow of the Sātavāhanas.[6] The founder of this dynasty was Māna Mahisha, whose power and prestige entitled him to a mention in the *Purānas*. He had the status of *Mahāsenāpati* probably under the Sātavāhanas. Later, he threw off their yoke, but continued the title for some time on his coins. The Purānic statement about the rise of the Gardabhilas, Yavanas, Tushāras, Murundas and Hūnas remains to be verified by the discovery of inscriptions and coins. They may have usurped power in the provinces north of the Narmadā. As regards the Śakas, who also are mentioned in the same context, we have evidence of an independent Śaka kingdom in Central India, different from that of the Western Kshatrapas of Saurāshṭra. It was founded by the *Mahādandanāyaka* Śrīdharavarman.[7] Strange as it may appear, the *Purānas* make no mention of the Vākātakas among the dynasties that rose after the downfall of the Sātavahānas. They no doubt mention Vindhyaśakti, but they place his rise after the Kilakila (or Kōlikila) kings who succeeded the Sātavāhanas. We have, however, no other evidence of the rule of these Kilakila or Kōlikila kings.[8]

Vindhyaśakti I is the earliest known king of the Vākātaka dynasty. He is mentioned in the aforementioned passage of the *Purānas* and also in an inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā.[9] The latter record calls him 'the banner of the Vākātaka family' and gives the

---

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 153 f. The editor of this record ascribes it to Pulumāvi II, Vāsishthīputra, but the palaeographical evidence shows that it belongs to the reign of the last king, Pulumāvi IV.

2 *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 92 f. The king's name occurs as Puluhāmavi on the coins found at Tarhālā.

3 *D.K.A.*, pp. 45 f.

4 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. xxxiii f.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 1 f.

6 *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XV, pp. 1 f.

7 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. xxxviii f.

8 Cf. तत कोलिकिलेभ्यश्च विन्ध्यशक्तिर्भविष्यति । *D.K.A.*, p. 48.

9 No. 25, line 1.

valuable information that he was a *dvija*, which usually means a Brāhmana Later Vākātaka inscriptions mention Vishnuvriddha as the *gōtra* of the Vākātakas How Vindhyaśakti I was related to the *grihapati* Vākātaka mentioned in an inscription at Amarāvatī we do not know, but it is not unlikely that like the Śaka *Mahāsenāpati* Māna, he also had previously occupied a position of power and vantage under the Sātavahānas, which facilitated his rise to royal power.

Scholars are not agreed about the original home of this Vindhyaśakti The Purānic passage referred to above is supposed to indicate that he was a ruler of Vidiśā [1] This is not correct. The *Purānas* mention not Vindhyaśakti I, but his son Pravarasēna I (under the name Pravīra) in connection with the rulers of Vidiśā, because, as shown below, the latter annexed the kingdom of Purikā where a scion of the Nāga family of Vidiśā was ruling Vindhyaśakti's home was probably situated in the Central Deccan not far from Vallūra, the original habitation of the ministerial family which faithfully served the Vākātakas for several generations. The *Purāṇas* mention two capitals Purikā and Chanakā of his son Pravarasēna I [2] Of these, Chanakā was probably the older capital from which Vindhyaśakti was ruling. It has not been identified

The Ajantā inscription highly glorifies Vindhyaśakti I. He is said to have augmented his power by fighting great battles When enraged, he was irresistible He had a large cavalry, by means of which he exacted submission from his enemies We have no reliable information about the extent of his kingdom His name is supposed to be a *biruda*, suggesting the extension of his kingdom to the Vindhyan region, but according to the Puranic account this was achieved not by him but by his son Pravarasēna I We may, however, well believe that starting from his base in the Central Deccan he raided and occupied parts of Vidarbha The Sanskrit and Prakrit charters of the Vākāṭakas omit Vindhyaśakti's name and start the genealogy of the royal family invariably from his son Pravarasēna I. Again, no regal title is prefixed to his name even in the Ajantā inscription From this it has been surmised that Vindhyaśakti I received no formal coronation[3] This is hardly convincing The reason for the omission of his name seems to be that the real founder of Vākāṭaka power was not he, but his son Pravarasēna I, who greatly extended his dominion The Ajaṇtā inscription which mentions his name is in verse It mentions no regal titles in connection with the names of other rulers also So there is no reason to doubt that Vindhyaśakti carved out an independent kingdom for himself in ancient Vidarbha He probably flourished in the period 250-270 A C In some *Purānas* he is credited with a reign of 96 years, but the period, if correct, may rather represent his long life [4]

Pravarasēna I, who succeeded Vindhyaśakti I, was the most renowned king of this dynasty. He extended his dominion in different directions He carried his arms to the Narmadā in the north and annexed the kingdom of Purikā. The *Purānas* say that a king named Śiśuka, who was the daughter's son of a Nāga king of Vidiśā, was ruling there Pravarsēna deposed him and incorporated his kingdom into his own dominion He then transferred his capital to Purikā This city was situated somewhere at the foot of the Rikshavat or Sātpudā mountain [5] We have no definite knowledge about the other

---

[1] *N.H I P*, p 96.

[2] *D K A*, p 50. I adopt Dr. Jayaswal's amendation भोक्ष्यते च समा षष्टि पुरिका चनका च वै ।

[3] *N.H.I.P.*, Vol. VI, p 97.

[4] Cf समा षण्णवति भूत्वा पृथिवी तु समेष्यति ॥ in a Ms of *Vāyupurāna* *D.K A*, p 48

[5] Cf *Harivamśa*, Vishnuparvan, 38, 22—ऋक्षवन्त समभितस्तीरे तत्र निरामये । निर्मिता सा पुरी राज्ञा पुरिका नाम नामत ॥ Rikshavat is mentioned in the *Vishnupurāna* as the source of the Tāpī, Payōshnī and Nirvindhyā, and therefore corresponds to the Sātpudā mountain.

MAP SHOWING PLACES MENTIONED IN VĀKĀṬAKA INSCRIPTIONS

● FIND-SPOTS OF COPPER PLATES. ■ FIND-SPOTS OF STONE INSCRIPTIONS. ▶ CAPITAL.

SCALE - 1 INCH = 43 MILES

PRINTED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES (P. L. O.)

campaigns of Pravarasēna It has been suggested that he succeeded in imposing his suzerainty over the Western Kshatrapas Rudrasimha II and Yaśodāman II, who were his contemporaries, and who, unlike their predecessors, did not assume the title of *Mahākshatrapa* [1] There is, however, as yet no definite proof of this The break in the use of the higher title by the Western Kshatrapas may be due to the rise of an independent kingdom in Central India under the Śaka king Śrīdharavarman There is also no evidence to show that Pravarasēna I carried his victorious arms beyond the Narmadā and incorporated Baghēlkhand into his dominion [2] The only proof of Vākātaka suzerainty in Baghēlkhaṇd in this early period is furnished by the lithic records, at Nachnā and Ganj, of Vyāghradēva, who calls himself a feudatory of the Vākātaka Prithivīshēna, but as shown elsewhere, these records belong to a much later age, Prithivīshēna mentioned therein being the second Vākāṭaka king of that name who flourished in *circa* 470-490 A C

It is also unlikely that Pravarasēna I made any conquests in Northern Mahārāshtra, Gujarāt and Konkan, which were ruled by the powerful Ābhīra kings He may have succeeded in conquering parts of North Kuntala comprising Kolhāpur, Sātārā and Sholāpur Districts of the Mahārāshtra State Eastward, he may have carried his arms to Dakshiṇa Kōsala, Kalinga and Andhra, which were ruled by petty princes in this period The paucity of records of this age makes it difficult to state his conquests or the exact limits of his dominion

Pravarasēna I was a pious man and a staunch supporter of the Vedic religion He performed a number of Vedic sacrifices The records of his successors almost invariably mention his performance of the seven Sōma sacrifices[3] as well as four Aśvamēdhas The *Purānas* make a special mention of his Vājapēya sacrifices which were marked by liberal gifts to Brāhmanas [4] Thereafter he assumed the unique imperial title *Samrāṭ*, which is mentioned in several records of his descendants [5] Like the early Pallava kings, he took also the title *Dharmamahārāja* indicative of his piety and righteous conquests [6] Like the Vinhukada Sātakarnis[7], he called himself *Hāritīputra*, a descendant of Hāritī These two titles are indicative of his association with southern kings

By his conquests and performance of Aśvamēdha sacrifices Pravarasēna I proclaimed his supremacy in the Deccan He sought to strengthen his position still further by means of a matrimonial alliance with the Bhāraśivas of North India The latter belonged to the Nāga race and may originally have been reigning in Vidarbha, for, an early stone inscription of a Bhāra king named Bhagadatta (*circa* second century A C) has been found at Pauni in the Bhandārā District of Vidarbha [8] Subsequently they appear to have raided North India, where they established themselves Copper coins of their *Adhirāja* (Emperor)

---

[1] *N H I P.*, Vol. VI, pp 58 f, p 100

[2] *Ibid* , p. 100. There is also no evidence that the empire of Pravarasena I extended to Bundēlkhand in the north as stated in *H C I P* , Vol II, p 220

[3] The seven Sōma sacrifices (called *sapta Sōma-samsthāh*) are usually named as follows —Agnishtōma, Atyagnishtōma, Ukthya, Shōdaśin, Vājapēya, Atirātra and Āptōryāma Vākātaka inscriptions mention all these except Atyagnishtōma and add Brihaspatisava and Sādyaskra to them Cf No 3, lines 1 f No 23 mentions Jyōtishtoma, but omits Ukthya, Shōdaśin and Atirātra

[4] *D K A* , p 50 A MS of the *Vāyupurāna* mentions Vājimedhas in place of Vājapēyas

[5] The performer of a Vājapēya sacrifice is entitled to assume the title *Samrāt* Cf राजा वै राजसूयेनेष्ट्वा भवति सम्राड् वाजपेयेन ।। *Śatapatha Brāhmana*, V, 1, 1, 3

[6] The title *Dharmamahārāja*, which Hindu kings assumed in the early centuries of the Christian era, may have been suggested by the title *Dharmamahāmātra* borne by some high officials of Aśōka. We find it for the first time in the Hirahadagalli grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman Some northern kings assumed the title of *Dharmavijayin* or righteous conqueror *C I I*, Vol IV, pp 15 and 609

[7] *Ind Ant* , Vol XIV, p. 333

[8] *Ep Ind*, Vol. XXV, pp 11 f

Bhavanāga have been found at Padmāvatī, the well-known capital of the Nāgas[1] From Vākātaka records we learn that the Bhāraśivas were staunch Śaivas They carried on their shoulders the emblem of Śiva (perhaps his *triśūla* or trident) and believed that they owed their royal position to that god's grace[2] They performed as many as ten Aśvamēdhas and were consecrated with the water of the Gangā, which they had obtained by their valour The description plainly shows that the Bhāraśivas had driven away the Kushānas from Central India and recovered from them the *tīrthas* of Prayāga and Kāśī, which are regarded as sacred by all devotees of Śiva Bhavanāga, the *Mahārāja* of the Bhāraśivas, was a contemporary of Pravarasēna I He gave his daughter in marriage to Gautamīputra, who was probably the eldest son of the Vākātaka Emperor This alliance with the powerful Nāga family of the North appears to have greatly strengthened the power and prestige of the Vākātakas, for, it is invariably mentioned in all grants of Gautamīputra's descendants. The *Purānas* credit Pravarasēna I (whom they call Pravīra) with a long reign of 60 years, which is not unlikely in view of his performance of four Aśvamēdhas and several Vājapēya sacrifices. He may have ruled from about 270 A C to 330 A C

Pravarasēna I had a very pious, learned and active Prime Minister named Dēva, who is eulogised in the Ghatōtkacha cave inscription It is said that by his influence the whole kingdom including the king engaged itself in the performance of religious duties[3] The phenomenal religious activity noticed in the reign of Pravarasēna I may have been mainly due to the influence of this learned and pious statesman

According to the *Purānas*, Pravarasēna I had four sons, all of whom became kings[4] Until recently this statement of the *Purānas* appeared incredible, for, there was no evidence that the Vākāṭaka family had branched off so early The discovery of the Bāsim copper-plate grant in 1939 showed for the first time that besides Gautamīputra mentioned in several Vākāṭaka grants, Pravarasēna I had at least one more son named Sarvasēna[5] His name has also been noticed in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā[6] It seems therefore certain that the extensive empire of Pravarasēna I was divided among his four sons after his death The eldest branch probably continued to reign from the old capital Purikā The second son Sarvasēna established himself at the holy city of Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim in the Akōlā District of Vidarbha One of the remaining sons may have been ruling over North Kuntala comprising the upper Krishnā valley, and the other may have been put in charge of Dakshina Kōsala, if that was included in the dominion of Pravarasēna I. No records of these two branches have yet come to light probably because they were short-lived The Kuntala branch may have been crushed out of existence by the Rāshtrakūta family which was founded by Mānānka in the upper Krishnā valley in *circa* 375 A C[7] The branch ruling in Dakshina Kōsala may also have been ousted by the Nalas and others who rose to power about the middle of the fourth century A C[8]

---

[1] *J N S I*, Vol V, pp 21 f

[2] Cf. No 3, lines 4-5 etc.

[3] Cf नराजक राष्ट्रमुपेत्य यस्मिन् धर्म्या क्रिया पार्थ इव प्रचक्रे ।। No 26, line 5

[4] Cf. तस्य पुत्रास्तु चत्वारो भविष्यन्ति नराधिपा । *D K A*, p 50

[5] No 23, line 4

[6] No 25, line 6

[7] See my article 'The Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānapura' in *A B O R I*, Vol XXV, pp 36 f. Also *S I*, Vol I, pp 178 f

[8] For the Nala kings see my article 'Gold Coins of Three Kings of the Nala Dynasty', *J N S I.*, Vol I, pp 29 f For the family ruling in Dakshina Kōsala, see Arang Plates of Bhīmasēna II *Ep. Ind*, Vol IX, pp. 342 f As I have shown (*ibid*, Vol XXVI, pp 227 f), the date of this grant is G 182 (501 A C), not G 282 as taken by the editor

CHAPTER V

THE MAIN BRANCH

GAUTAMĪPUTRA, the eldest son[1] of Pravarasēna I, predeceased his father The latter was therefore succeeded by his grandson Rudrasēna I in *circa* 330 A C

In later Vākātaka records Rudrasēna I is invariably described as the daughter's son of Bhavanāga, the *Mahārāja* of the Bhāraśivas, which indicates that the young prince had the powerful support of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī Only one inscription of his reign has been discovered, viz, that at Dēotēk in the Chāndā District of Vidarbha[2] It is incised on a large slab of stone after chiselling off an earlier record, issued probably by a *Mahāmātra* of Aśōka the Great, prohibiting the capture and slaughter of animals The Vākātaka inscription on the slab records that the shrine where the slab was put up was the *dharma-sthāna* (place of religious worship) of the *Rājan* Rudrasēna Rudrasēna I was a fervent devotee of Mahābhairava, the terrific god created by Śiva for the destruction of Daksha's sacrifice He had no regard for the doctrine of *ahimsā* preached by Aśōka He therefore apparently had no scruples in getting his own inscription incised on the same slab which contained an old proclamation of the great Buddhist Emperor prohibiting the capture and slaughter of animals.

Rudrasēna I was a contemporary of the mighty Gupta king Samudragupta His age was therefore a period of great convulsion in the country to the north of the Narmadā. Samudragupta, with the powerful support of the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī, embarked upon a career of conquest and annexation in North India His Allāhābād pillar inscription mentions a large number of princes of Āryāvarta or the country to the north of the Narmadā whom he forcibly dethroned and whose kingdoms he annexed[3] Among these rulers were the Nāga princes Nāgadatta, Ganapati Nāga and Nāgasēna Of these, Ganapati Nāga was probably the contemporary ruler of Padmāvatī, for, his coins have been found there. He was evidently the successor of Bhavanāga The other Nāga princes were probably ruling over smaller states in Central India We do not know what measures Rudrasēna I took to help his relatives in North India, but there is no doubt that their final defeat and overthrow deprived him of the support of a powerful confederacy of the Nāga States

After subduing the princes of North India, Samudragupta led his expedition to the south The first king who felt the weight of his arms was Mahēndra, the lord of Kōsala, *i e* Chhattisgadh This king may previously have been a feudatory of the Vākātakas, his

---

[1] Dr D R Bhandarkar, drawing attention to the faulty construction in the stereotyped form of the Vākātaka genealogy, suggested that Gautamīputra was the grandson, not the son, of Pravarasēna I If this view is accepted, the successor of Pravarasēna I would be his great-grandson as Gautamīputra did not evidently come to the throne, the expression *Vākātakānām Mahārāja*, which occurs invariably in the description of every Vākātaka king, being absent in his case Again, if Gautamīputra was the grandson, not the son of Pravarasēna I, who was the son of the latter? Why is his name omitted? These questions cannot be satisfactorily answered For further discussion of this question, see my article in *Ind Cult*, Vol XI, pp 232-33

[2] No 1

[3] Some scholars identify Rudradēva mentioned in the Allāhābād pillar inscription as uprooted by Samudragupta with the Vākātaka Rudrasēna I, but the former was a uler of Āryāvarta or North India, while the Vākātakas had, in this early period, no foot-hold north of the Narmadā as shown above Again, as Dr Altekar has shown, if Rudrasēna I had been killed by Samudragupta, his son Prithivīshēna I would not have accepted Prabhāvatīguptā, the grand-daughter of Samudragupta, as a bride for his son Rudrasēna II *Ind Cult*, Vol IX, pp 103 f

powerful neighbours to the west It is not known if Rudrasēna lent him any aid in resisting the aggression of the Gupta Emperor, but Mahēndra was ultimately defeated[1] and had to allow Samudragupta to pass through his territory for invading the kingdoms of Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra (the Great Forest Country, now called the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh) and other southern kings.

These Gupta conquests dealt a severe blow to the power and prestige of this senior branch of the Vākātaka family Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, who probably belonged to the Nala family, Mantarāja of Kurāla, Mahēndragiri of Pishtapura (modern Pithāpuram) and a host of other princes who were ruling in Kalinga and Andhra, threw off the Vākātaka yoke and submitted to the Gupta Emperor The kingdom of this Senior branch, therefore, came to be confined to Northern Vidarbha which lay between the Narmadā and the Indhyādri range

Though Rudrasēna I's kingdom was thus much reduced in size, he maintained his independence and did not submit to the mighty Gupta Emperor Perhaps Samudragupta, like Alexander, grew wiser by the resistance he encountered in his southern campaign, and avoided a direct conflict with the Vākātaka king He may also have thought it prudent to have friendly relations with his southern neighbour who occupied a strategic position with regard to the kingdom of the powerful Western Kshatrapas, whom he had not yet subdued In any case, there are no signs of Gupta supremacy in the Vākātaka records of the age[2] The Vākātakas did not adopt the Gupta era, but throughout dated their grants in regnal years As they had no coins of their own, they were not loth to use Gupta currency as they had used Śaka coinage before, but that was certainly no indication of Gupta suzerainty Their relations with the Guptas seem to have been very friendly.

Rudrasena I was succeeded in *circa* 350 A C by his son Prithivīshēṇa I, who is eulogised in the grants of his successors as a fervent devotee of Mahēśvara and is endowed with such noble qualities as truthfulness, compassion, self-restraint and charity as well as with heroism and political wisdom He is compared with Yudhishthira, the great Pāndava hero of yore, who was famous for such virtues Pṛithivīshēṇa I appears to have pursued a peaceful policy which brought happiness and contentment to his people. Across the northern frontier of his kingdom, the Gupta Emperors Samudragupta and Chandragupta II were following an aggressive policy, subduing their neighbours and annexing their territories Prithivīshēna wisely refrained from being entangled in these wars and devoted himself to the consolidation of his position in the south and the amelioration of the condition of his subjects The results of his policy are summed up in official Vākātaka records in the following words —Prithivīshēna I had a continuous supply of treasure and army which had been accumulating for a hundred years[3]

Prithivīshēna I had probably a long reign, which seems to have terminated in *circa* 400 A C Some years before the close of it, in *circa* 395 A C, Chandragupta II, who had

---

[1] That Gupta supremacy was acknowledged in South Kōsala is shown by the use of the Gupta era by the descendants of Mahēndra See Ārang plates of Bhīmasēna II, *Ep Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 f., with the correction of their date by me in *ibid*, Vol XXVI, p 228

[2] Rudrasēna I mentions his title *Rājan* in the Dēoṭēk inscription In the records of his descendants he is styled *Mahārāja* These titles, as contrasted with that of *Samrāt* assumed by his grandfather Pravarasēna I, may be supposed to indicate a feudatory status But, as Dr Altekar has shown, this distinction was not observed in South India The title *Mahārāja* was adopted by paramount sovereigns as well as feudatory princes in South India It was, for instance, assumed by the Vishnukundin Emperor Mādhavavarman I, who performed as many as eleven Aśvamēdhas as well as by the rulers of Valkha who 'meditated on the feet of their Great Lord'. *C I I*, Vol. IV, pp 5 f.

[3] No 3, lines 11-12

by that time become the lord paramount of a large part of North India, launched his attack on the Śaka Kshatrapas of Mālwā and Saurāshtra [1] The causes of this war are not known The Kshatrapas were the northern neighbours of the Vākātakas They had held the fertile provinces of Mālwā, Northern Gujarāt and Saurāshtra for more than three centuries and had become very powerful It is therefore not unlikely that Chandragupta II sought the alliance of his powerful neighbour, the Vākātaka king Prithivīshēna I, in his war against the Kshatrapas. The combined strength of the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas was sufficient to wipe out the Western Kshatrapas, who disappear from history about this time Chandragupta II then annexed Mālwā and probably made Ujjayinī a second capital of his vast empire. He sought to cement the political alliance with the Vākātakas by giving his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā in marriage to the Vākātaka prince Rudrasena II, the son of Prithivīshēna I This matrimonial alliance between the ruling families of Mālwā and Vidarbha recalled a similar event which had occurred more than five centuries earlier in the time of the Śungas Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, which draws its theme from the latter event, was probably staged first at Ujjayinī on the occasion of the marriage of Prabhāvatīguptā and Rudrasēna II [2]

Like his father, Prithivīshēna I was a Śaiva During his time the Vākātaka capital seems to have been shifted to Nandivardhana, modern Nandardhan (also called Nagardhan) near Rāmtēk, about 28 miles from Nāgpur This place is surrounded by strongly fortified forts like Ghughusgadh and Bhivgadh, which may have been the reason for its selection as a site for the royal capital [3]

Prithivīshēṇa I was succeeded by his son Rudrasēna II, the son-in-law of the illustrious Gupta king Chandragupta II–Vikramāditya Unlike his ancestors who were all Śaivas, this prince was a devotee of Chakrapāni (Vishnu), to whose grace he ascribed his prosperity. This change in religious creed may have been due to the influence of his wife Prabhāvatīguptā, who, like her father, was a devotee of Vishnu She greatly venerated the *pādamūlas* (foot-prints) of Rāmachandra on the hill of Rāmgiri, where she made both of her known grants [4] This Rāmagiri is modern Rāmtēk, a well-known place of pilgrimage near Nāgpur, which lay about three miles from the then Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana

Rudrasēna II died soon after his accession, in *circa* 405 A C, leaving behind two sons, Divākarasēna and Dāmodarasēna, who succeeded him one after the other [5] Divakārasēna was a minor at the time of his father's death The dowager queen Prabhāvatīguptā therefore looked after the affairs of the State as regent for her little son Her Poonā plates, which were issued from Nandivardhana in the thirteenth year evidently of the boy prince's reign, revealed for the first time that she was a daughter of the famous Gupta king Chandra-

---

[1] The last known date of the Western Kshatrapas is Ś 310 or Ś 31x (i.e 388 A C or 388+x A C.) while the earliest date of Chandragupta II noticed in the inscriptions of Mālwā is G 82 (401-2 A C.). V. Smith therefore conjectured that the war against the Kshatrapas must have occurred in *circa* 395 A C.

[2] There are other instances of Sanskrit plays being staged on similar occasions See *e g* Rajaśēkhara's *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* (*C I I*, Vol IV, pp lxxix f)

[3] See Wellsted, "Vākātakas of the C P and Berar and Their Country", *J A S B* (N S), Vol. XX, pp. 58 f

[4] Rāmagiri is explicitly mentioned as the place of issue in her Riddhapur plates, No 8, line 1. The grant recorded in her Poonā plates was also probably made at Rāmagiri See No 2, line 14.

[5] Some scholars say that Rudrasēna II had three sons, *viz*, Divākarasēna, Dāmodarasēna and Pravarasēna, who ruled one after another *H C I P*, Vol III, p 181. But we have no records of Dāmodarasēna as we have those of Divākarasēna and Pravarasēna Again, if Dāmodarasēna was different from Pravarasēna II it is strange that the title *Vākāṭakānām Mahārājah* should not have been prefixed to the name of the latter in the Riddhapur plates, though he was reigning at the time

gupta II, and thus placed Vākātaka genealogy on a sound basis Unlike other charters of the Vākātakas, this grant is inscribed in nail-headed characters and in its initial portion gives the genealogy of the Guptas and not of the Vākātakas This clearly indicates that Gupta influence was predominant at the Vākātaka court during the regency of Prabhāvatīguptā [1] Chandragupta II had evidently sent some of his trusted officers and statesmen to assist his daughter in governing her kingdom One of these was the famous Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa, who seems to have stayed at the Vākātaka court for some time He composed his world-famous lyric *Mēghadūta* probably during his sojourn in Vidarbha, for, he describes therein Rāmagiri[2] as the place of the exiled Yaksha's residence This place, as already stated, is undoubtedly identical with Rāmtēk near Nagpur His graphic description of the six-year old Sudarśana in the 18th canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* was probably suggested by what he saw of the boy prince Divākarasēna at the Vākātaka capital

Divākarasēna also seems to have been short-lived He was succeeded in *circa* 420 A C by his brother Dāmodarasena, who, on his accession, assumed the name Pravarasena of his illustrious ancestor Several grants of this prince have come down to us They record his donations of fields or villages in the modern districts of Amarāvatī, Wardhā, Nāgpur, Bētul, Chhindwādā, Bhāndārā and Bālāghāt in Vidarbha and Madhya Pradēsh The latest of these grants is dated in the 29th regnal year Pravarasēna II had therefore a long reign of about thirty years from *circa* 420 A C to 450 A C

Pravarasēna II continued to reign from the old capital Nandivardhana till his 11th regnal year, for, his Bēlōrā plates[3] dated in that year were issued from that city Thereafter, he founded a new city which he named Pravarapura after himself and shifted his seat of government there The earliest grant made at Pravarapura is dated in the 18th regnal year[4], which shows that this change of the capital must have occurred some time between the 11th and 18th regnal years Pravarapura is probably identical with Pavnār near Wardhā in the Wardhā District of Vidarbha

Pravarasēna II was a devotee of Śambhu, by whose grace he is said to have established on earth the reign of the *Krita-yuga* or Golden Age He was a very liberal king, for more than a dozen grants of his reign have been discovered so far Having come into contact with such a great poet as Kālidāsa, he naturally acquired a taste for poetic composition Some of his Sanskrit verses are preserved in Sanskrit anthologies Several Prakrit *gāthās* composed by him have been included in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* Though himself a Śaiva, he composed the Prakrit *kāvya Sētubandha* in glorification of Rāma, probably at the instance of his mother Prabhāvatīguptā [5] He began to compose this *kāvya* soon after he came to the throne[6] and evidently received considerable help in its composition from his friend Kālidāsa [7] This *kāvya* has been highly eulogised by Sanskrit poets and rhetoricians

[1] Prabhāratiguptā repeated the same genealogy in her later Riddhapur grant also She was evidently more proud of her Gupta descent than of her marriage in the Vākātaka family

[2] For the location of Rāmagiri, see my article in *N U J*, No IX, pp 9f Also *S I*, Vol I, pp 121

[3] No 5, line 29

[4] No 6, line 60

[5] Pravarasēna II's authorship of the *Sētubandha* is doubted on the ground that 'while the theme of the *kāvya* is Vaishnava, the king was a devotee of Śiva' *HCIP*, Vol III, p 84. The argument has little force We might as well doubt Kālidāsa's authorship of the *Raghuvaṁśa* on the ground that he was a Śaiva

[6] Cf *Sētubandha*, canto I, v 9

[7] According to Rāmadāsa, a commentator of the *Setubandha*, the *kāvya* was composed by Kālidāsa for the sake of Pravarasēna by the order of *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramāditya It is not, however, likely that Kālidāsa actually composed the *kāvya*, though he may have revised it

Pravarasēna built a magnificant temple of Rāmachandra at Pravarapura when the capital was shifted there This also was evidently done at the instance of his mother who was a worshipper of that god Some beautiful panels which decorated the temple have recently been found in excavations at Pavnār

Narēndrasēna, who succeeded his father Pravarasēna II in *circa* 450 A C, is known from the unfinished Bālāghāt plates[1] of his son His feudatory Bharatabala also makes a covert reference to him in his Bamhanī plates[2] The Bālāghāt plates state that he enticed the ancestral fortune by means of the confidence which he had created by his already acquired noble qualities This was taken to mean that there was some trouble about his succession Dr Kielhorn thought that he might have superseded his elder brother[3] It has also been suggested that there was a division of the kingdom between Narēndrasēna and his brother whose name is lost in the inscription in Ajantā Cave XVI[4] This view is now proved to be untenable as the princes mentioned in the Ajantā inscription belonged to the Vatsagulma branch There is no clear indication of a disputed succession in this period, the description in the Bālāghāt plates being only a poetic way of stating that Narēndrasena attracted royal fortune by his noble qualities

Narēndrasēna married Ajjhitabhattārikā, a princess of Kuntala She probably belonged to the Rāshtrakūta family of Mānapura, which was ruling over the Southern Maratha Country, comprising the Sātārā, Kōlhāpur and Shōlāpur Districts of the Mahārāshtra State The Pāndarangapallī plates discovered in a village near Kōlhāpur describe Mānānka, the founder of the family, as the ruler of the prosperous Kuntala country[5] This royal family appears to have wielded considerable power and sometimes came into conflict with the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākātaka family During the time of Chandragupta II it came under the sphere of Gupta influence and, as tradition says, its government was carried on under the direction of the Gupta Emperor Kālidāsa, the famous Sanskrit poet, was sent as an ambassador to the court of the contemporary Kuntala king who was probably Dēvarāja Ajjhitabhattārikā, married by Narēndrasēna, may have been the daughter of Dēvarāja's son Avidhēya, mentioned in the Pāndarangapallī plates, who flourished in *circa* 440-455 A C

Narendrasēna followed an aggressive policy in the east and the north The Bālāghāt plates of his son Prithivīshēna II state that he had, by his prowess, subjugated the enemies and that his commands were honoured by the lords of Kōsalā, Mekalā and Mālava[6] Of these countries, Mālava had till then been under the direct administration of the Guptas since the overthrow of the Western Kshatrapas About the middle of the fifth century A C,

---

[1] No. 18, line 30

[2] No 19, lines 31-34

[3] *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 269

[4] S K Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p 132

[5] D C Sircar interprets the expression *śrīmat-Kuntalānām praśāsitā* in these plates as 'the chastiser of the prosperous Kuntalas' and makes Mānānka not the ruler but the vanquisher of the Kuntala country He further identifies the Kuntalas with the Kadambas of the Kanarese country *H.C I P*, Vol III, p 200 It is difficult to accept these views As I have shown elsewhere, the root *praśās*, when used with the name of a country, usually means to rule and when used with persons, it means to chastise That this was the intended meaning is also clear from the contrast in the two expressions *sa-Vidarbh-Aśmaka-vijētā* and *śrīmat-Kuntalānām praśāsitā* used in the plates to describe Mānānka The *Daśakumāra-charita*, in its eighth *uchchhvāsa*, mentions the ruler of Kuntala separately from that of Vanavāsī This shows clearly that the ruler of Kuntala did not belong to the Kadamba family which held Vanavāsī (modern Banavāsī in North Kānādā)

[6] No 18, line 27-28

the Gupta empire was convulsed by the invasions of the Hūnas and though Skandagupta fought bravely to stem the tide of these invasions, there was a feeling of unrest and uncertainty in the land This is indicated by the statement in the Mandasōr inscription of V. 529 that in the short period of 36 years (between V 493 and V 529) several princes held the country of Daśapura [1] The recently published Mandasōr inscription of V 524 also states that Prabhākara, a feudatory of the Guptas ruling at Daśapura, had to fight with several enemies of his lord.[2] Some of these may have sided with the Vākāṭaka Narēndrasēna and sought his help in throwing off the Gupta yoke What success Narēndrasēna achieved ultimately in extending the sphere of his influence to Mālwā is not known

Mēkalā is the country near Amarakantak, where the Narmadā, called *Mēkala-sutā*, takes its rise Before the rise of the Guptas this country was included in the dominion of the Maghas, which extended from Fatehpur in the north to Bāndhōgadh in the south.[3] After overthrowing them Samudragupta annexed the fertile territory of the Vatsa country and parcelled out the hilly tract of Baghēlkhand among a number of feudatories such as the Parivrājakas, Uchchakalpas and Pāndavas. The last of these appear to have previously owed allegiance to the Magha kings An inscription at Bāndhōgadh mentions *Rājan* Vaiśravana and his father *Mahāsēnāpati* Bharatabala, who probably belonged to the Pāndava lineage and were feudatories and army commanders of the Maghas. Later, they transferred their allegiance to the Guptas [4] The Bamhanī plates[5] of the Pāndavavaṁśī king Bhatabala *alias* Indra give the following genealogy of the prince—Jayabala, his son Vatsarāja, his son Nāgabala, and his son Bharatabala The first two of these were probably feudatories of the Guptas Nāgabala, who seems to have come to the throne when the Gupta empire was tottering owing to the onslaughts of the Hūnas, first assumed the title of *Mahārāja*, indicative of his rising power and prestige He formed a matrimonial alliance with the ruler of Kōsalā (modern Chhattisgadh) by getting the latter's daughter Lōkaprakāśā married to his son Bharatabala [6] She was probably a daughter of the king Bhīmasēna I, mentioned in the Āraṅg plates[7] of his grandson Bhīmasēna II, dated G 182 (501-2 A C) Bharatabala, who flourished in *circa* 460-480 A C, makes a veiled reference to his suzerain, the Vākāṭaka Narēndrasēna He appears to have transferred his allegiance from the Guptas to the Vākāṭakas This confirms the statement in the Balāghāṭ plates that the commands of Narēndrasēna were honoured by the ruler of Mēkalā

Kōsalā is of course of Dakshina Kōsala or Chhattisgadh, comprising the modern districts of Durg, Raipur and Bilāspur As we have seen above, Mahēndra, who was ruling over this country in the fourth century A C, was defeated by Samudragupta and forced to acknowledge his supremacy His successors used the Gupta era in token of their submission to the Guptas. As the Gupta power was tottering about this time, the ruler of this country also may have submitted to the Vākāṭakas The aforementioned Ārang plates of Bhīmasena II, dated in G. 182 (501-2 A C) show that his family had been ruling over Kōsalā for at

[1] *C I I*, Vol. III, p 83

[2] *Ep Ind*, Vol XXVII, p 15

[3] For coins of the Maghas found in the Fatehpur District, see *J N S I*, Vol. II, pp. 95 f. Several stone inscriptions of the Maghas have been found at Bāndhōgadh, Ginjā and Kōsam

[4] For a fuller discussion of this matter see my article 'The Pāndava Dynasty of Mekalā' in the *Silver Jubilee Volume* of the Indian Historical Research Institute, pp 268 f

[5] No 19

[6] *Ibid*, line 30.

[7] *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, pp 342 f., Vol XXVI, pp. 227 f

least six generations Narēndrasēna's contemporary may have been Bhīmasena I. Narēndrasēna may also have annexed the Anūpa country, the capital of which was Māhishmatī, modern Mahēshvar, when he extended his suzrerainty to Mālwā [1]

Narēndrasēna, who was probably a grown up man at the time of his accession,[2] may have had a reign of about 20 years (450-470 A C) Towards the end of his reign the Vākātaka territory was invaded by the Nala king Bhavadattavarman According to the *Purāṇas*,[3] the Nalas ruled over the Kōsalā country This statement is corroborated by the find-spots of their inscriptions and coins Gold coins of three kings of the Nala family, Varāha, Bhavadattavarman and Arthapati have been found at Edēngā in the Kōndēgaon *tahsil* of the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh [4] Of these Varāha was the earliest He may have been defeated by Narēndrasēna and forced to pay tribute His son Bhavadattavarman seems to have taken revenge He invaded the Vākātaka territory and pressed as far as Nandivardhana, the erstwhile capital of the Vākātakas, which he occupied for some time A copper-plate inscription discovered at Riddhapur in the Amarāvatī District records the grant of a village in the Yeotmāl District which the king Bhavadatta had made at the holy *tīrtha* of Prayāga (Allāhābād) for the religious merit of himself and his wife [5] The plates were actually issued by his son[6] Arthapati from Nandivardhana This inscription clearly shows that a considerable portion of the Vākātaka dominion was occupied by the Nalas

The Vākātakas also admit this disaster to their arms The Bālāghāt plates state that Pṛithivīshēna II, the son of Narēndrasēna, raised his sunken family [7] At this time he seems to have been forced to move to the east and fix his capital at Padmapura, modern Padampur near Āmgaon in the Bhandārā District, from where an unfinished Vākātaka plate was intended to be issued [8] Prithivīshēna consolidated his power at this capital and after a time drove the enemy from his ancestral country He even carried the war into the enemy's territory and stormed and devastated his capital Pushkarī, as admitted in an inscription of Arthapati's brother Skandavarman found at Pōdāgadh in the Vizagāpatam District [9]

It is not known whether Prithivīshēna II continued to rule from Padmapura or again shifted his capital to some other place in Vidarbha. In any case Padmapura retained its importance for a long time, for, it attracted learned Brāhmanas like Gōpāla, an ancestor of the famous Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhūti, who performed the Vājapēya and other sacrifices there In his plays Bhavabhūti mentions Padmapura situated in Vidarbha as the home of his ancestors [10]

Prithīvishēna II soon retrieved his position in the north also and even pressed farther than his father Two stone inscriptions of his feudatory Vyāghradēva, who explicitly acknowledges his suzerainty, have been discovered at Nachnā and Ganj in the former Vindhya

---

[1] The *Daśakumāracharita*, eighth *uchchhvāsa*, shows that Māhishmatī was included in the dominion of the Vākātakas about this time

[2] His father Pravarasēna II had a long reign of about 30 years

[3] *D K A*, p 51.

[4] *J N S I*, Vol I, pp 29 f

[5] *Ep Ind*, Vol. XIX, pp 100 f

[6] Arthapati was the son, not the grandson, of Bhavadattavarman as supposed by Dr D C Sircar, See *Ind Hist Quart*, Vol XXXIV, pp 142 f

[7] No 18, line 33

[8] No 17, line 1.

[9] *Ep. Ind*, Vol XXI, p. 156

[10] For the identification of Padmapura, see *Ind Hist Quart*, Vol. XI, pp. 287 f Also *S I*, Vol I, pp 21 f

Pradēsh[1] This Vyāghradēva probably belonged to the Uchchakalpa dynasty, for, several records of this dynasty mentioning his name have been found in the Nāgōd District As Jayanātha, the son of *Mahārāja* Vyāghra was ruling from *circa* G 170 to G 190 (490 to 510 A C),[2] Vyāghradēva may be referred to the period from 470 to 490 A C He was thus a contemporary of Prithivīshēna II The Uchchakalpa kings were previously the feudatories of the Guptas, whose era they used When the power of the Guptas declined in the second half of the fifth century A C, they seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Vākātakas

Unlike most of his ancestors, Prithivīshēna II was a worshipper of Vishnu, for, he is described as *parama-bhāgavata* in the Bālāghāt plates[3] He is the last known member of this senior branch of the Vākātaka dynasty He may have closed his reign in 490 A C After him, the kingdom was probably annexed by Harishēna of the Vastagulma branch, who made extensive conquests in all directions

Thus ended this senior branch of the Vākātaka dynasty after a glorious rule of about 160 years (*circa* 330 - 490 A C) It produced a series of illustrious kings who were capable rulers of men, wise administrators, and liberal patrons of learning and art No lithic monuments of their age have survived in Northern Vidarbha, but the few panels that have recently been brought to light at Pavnār show the excellence of the plastic art of the time. Their age was equally distinguished in literature Two *kāvyas*, the *Mēghadūta* and the *Sētubandha*,—the former in Sanskrit and the latter in Prakrit—have immortalised it Many other Sanskrit works which gave the Vaidarbhī *rīti* the place of eminence among all *rītis* must have been composed during this period, but they have all passed into oblivion.

---

[1] Nos. 20-22.

[2] His grants are dated G. 174 and G. 177. *C.I.I*, Vol. III, pp. 117 f.

[3] No 18, line 34.

CHAPTER VI

THE VATSAGULMA BRANCH

THE existence of this branch was unknown till the discovery of the Bāsim plates in 1939 Several members of it were indeed mentioned in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā, but owing to a sad mutilation of the record, their names were misread ese names have since been restored and it has been conclusively shown that the princes who ed the country to the south of the Indhyādri range belonged to a different branch of the kātaka family

The founder of this branch was Sarvasēna mentioned in both the Bāsim plates and Ajantā inscription as a son of Pravarasena I He was presumably one of his younger is. The country under his rule seems to have stretched south of the Indhyādri range up the bank of the Godāvarī In the establishment of his authority over this territory he pears to have received considerable help from his minister Ravi, the son of the Brāhmana na from a Kshatriya wife [1] Ravi's descendants became the hereditary ministers of the kātaka kings of Vatsagulma and served them faithfully for several generations

Sarvasēna selected Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim in the Akōlā District of Vidarbha, his capital This was an ancient city The country round it called Vātsagulmaka is ntioned in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana Vatsagulma was regarded as a holy *tīrtha* d according to a local *Māhātmya* it was so called because the sage Vatsa, by his austerities, de an assemblage of gods come down and settle in the vicinity of his hermitage [2] In Vākātaka age it became a great centre of learning and culture, and gave its name chchhōmī to the best poetic style [3]

From the Bāsim plates we learn that Sarvasēna continued the title *Dharmamahārāja* ich his father Pravarasēna I had assumed in accordance with the custom in South lia The description that the Ajantā inscription gives of him is conventional. Sarvasēna however, known as the author of the Prakrit *kāvya Harivijaya*, which has been eulogised Sanskrit poets and rhetoricians [4] He also composed many Prakrit *gāthās*, some of which ve been included in the well-known Prakrit anthology *Gāthāsaptaśatī* He may be erred to the period 330-355 A C

Sarvasēna was followed by Vindhyasēna, called Vindhyaśakti (II) in the Bāsim tes He pursued a more vigorous policy and defeated the lord of Kuntala, who was his uthern neighbour As stated before, a Rāshtrakūta family rose into prominence just about s time Mānānka, its founder, made considerable conquests and annexed the territory the south of the Gōdāvarī,[5] which was previously ruled by one of the sons Pravarasēna I

---

1 No. 26, line 7

2 The *Jayamangalā*, a commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, gives another derivation of this ce-name According to it, Vatsa and Gulma were two princes of Dakshināpatha The country led by them came to be known as Vātsagulmaka The *Brihatkathā* also mentions Vatsa and Gulma were sons of a Brāhmana and maternal uncles of Gunādhya, but it does not state that they founded ty named Vatsagulma See *Brihatkathāmañjarī*, 1, 3, 4, and *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I, 6, 9.

3 Vatsagulma retained its importance as a centre of learning and culture for a long time, for Rāja-iara describes it as the pleasure resort of the god of love, where the mythical Kāvyapurusha married ityavidyā It was probably the native place of Rājaśekhara *C I I.*, Vol. IV, pp clxxiv f

4 See below, Chapter X

5 See my article 'The Rāshtrakūtas of Mānapura' in *A B O R I*, Vol XXV, pp 36 f, *S I*, Vol I, 178 f

In an inscription of his descendants, Mānānka is described as the ruler of the prosperous Kuntala country and as the conqueror of Aśmaka and Vidarbha[1] Mānāṅka founded the city of Mānapura which became the capital of these Early Rāshtrakūtas. This Mānapura is probably identical with Mān, the chief town of the Mān *tālukā* of the Sātārā District in the Mahārāshtra State

Mānānka was thus ruling over the Southern Maratha country His kingdom was contiguous to those of Aśmaka and Vidarbha Aśmaka lay along the bank of the Gōdāvarī and comprised the Ahmadnagar and Bhīr Districts of Mahārāshtra The ruler of Aśmaka was probably a feudatory of the Vākātakas

From the palaeographical evidence afforded by the grants of his successors Mānāṅka seems to have flourished towards the close of the fourth century A C He was thus a contemporary of Vindhyasēna As both Mānānka and Vindhyasēna claim a victory over each other, neither of them appears to have emerged completely victorious from this war During the reign of Mānānka's successor Dēvarāja, however, the kingdom of Kuntala came under the sphere of the influence of the Guptas, for, its government was carried on under the direction of Chandragupta II[2] It therefore ceased to be a menace to the Vatsagulma Vākātakas

Vindhyasēna made the Bāsim grant in the 37th regnal year The plates were issued from the royal capital Vatsagulma, and register the grant of a village situated in the territorial division of Nāndīkata, modern Nāndēd in the Mahārāshtra State. The genealogical portion of the grant is written in Sanskrit and the formal portion in Prakrit, which shows how the classical language was gradually asserting itself Vindhyasēna, like his father and grandfather, assumed the title *Dharmamahārāja* His minister Pravara is mentioned in the Ghatōtkacha cave inscription Vindhyasēna was probably a contemporary of Pṛithivīshēṇa I, and, like the latter, may have closed his reign about 400 A C

Vindhyasēna was followed by his son Pravarasēna II, about whom little is known. The Ajantā inscription states that he became exalted by his excellent, powerful and liberal rule. He seems to have had a short reign (400-415 A C), for when he died, his son was only eight years old His minister Śri-Rāma is mentioned in the Ghaṭōtkacha cave inscription

The name of this boy prince, who is said to have ruled well, is lost in the Ajantā inscription His minister was Kīrti He was succeeded in *circa* 450 A C by his son Dēvasēna, whose fragmentary copper-plate inscription discovered somewhere in South Berar has since then been deposited in the British Museum[3] This plate also was issued from Vatsagulma, which shows that the place continued to be the royal capital to the last

Dēvasēna had a very righteous and capable minister named Hastibhoja He looked after the affairs of the State and pleased all subjects Dēvasēna entrusted the government of

[1] D C Sircar takes Vidarbha and Aśmaka in the expression *sa-Vidarbh-Āśmaka-vijētā* descriptive of the Rāshtrakūta Mānānka as referring to 'the Vākātakas of Berar' and 'the Vākātakas of Vatsagulma' respectively. This view cannot be accepted, for the country round Vatsagulma also was included in Vidarbha as explicitly stated by Rājaśēkhara This is also corroborated by the statement in the *Ganēśapurāna* that Kadambapura (modern Kalamb in the adjoining Yeotmal District) was included in Vidarbha. See *Ind Hist Quart*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 320 f, *S I*, Vol II, p 164 f

[2] See the tradition mentioned in several ancient Sanskrit works that Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador to the court of Kuntalēśa. He reported to his master that the lord of Kuntala was spending his days in enjoyment leaving the governing of the kingdom to the care of Chandragupta. See *A B.O R.I*, Vol XXV, pp 45 f; *S I*, Vol I, pp 186 f

[3] No 24.

his kingdom to him and gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures[1] Hastibhōja is eulogised in the Ajantā and Ghaṭōtkacha cave inscriptions which were caused to be incised by his son Varāhadēva

Dēvasēna was succeeded in *circa* 475 A C by his son Harishēna, who is the last known king of this line He was a brave and ambitious prince and carried his victorious arms in all directions 'Unfortunately the Ajantā inscription,[2] which in lines 14-15 describes his conquests, is very sadly mutilated, but the extant portion mentions several countries which he had either overrun or forced to pay tribute These countries lay in all the four directions of Vidarbha, viz, Avanti (Mālwā) in the north, Kōsalā (Chhattisagadh), Kalinga (between the Mahānadī and the Gōdāvarī), Andhra (between the Gōdāvarī and the Krishnā) in the east, Lāta (Central and Southern Gujarat) and Trikūṭa (Nāsik District) in the west, and Kuntala (Southern Maratha Country) in the south It would thus seem that Harishena became the undisputed suzerain of the entire country extending from Mālwā in the North to Kuntala in the south and from the Arabian sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the cast

Harishēna's conquests do not seem to have resulted in the permanent annexation of this vast territory The rulers of these countries were probably allowed to retain their respective kingdoms on condition of regular payment of tribute Harishena s subjugation of Mālwā plainly shows that he had already incorporated the kingdom of the senior branch into his own dominion In Kalinga and Andhra Harishēna's incursions seem to have led to the establishment of new royal families, for, just about this time in 498 A C the Ganga era was started marking the foundation of a new power in Kalinga[3] In Andhra Harisheṇa appears to have supplanted the contemporary Śālaṅkāyana king and given the kingdom to the Vishnukundin king Gōvindavarman The latter's son Mādhavavarman I married a Vākātaka princess[4] who may have been Harishēna's own daughter In Kōsalā or Chhattisgadh also we find that the old family mentioned in the Ārang plates was supplanted by the kings of Śarabhapura[5] That Harishēna's suzerainty was recognised in the west beyond the confines of Vidarbha is shown by the inscription which a ruler of Ṛishīka (modern Khāndēsh) has left in Cave XVII at Ajantā[6] In the south the Rāshtrakūta king of Kuntala continued to rule his kingdom for a long time after submission to the Vākātaka king Harishēna probably ruled from *circa* 475 to 500 A C

Harishena had a pious, liberal and capable minister named Varāhadēva, who was loved alike by the king and his subjects He was the son of the aforementioned Hastibhoja who had served Devasena Varāhadēva was a devout Buddhist He caused Cave XVI at Ajantā to be excavated and decorated with sculptures and picture galleries The inscription[7] which he caused to be incised on its wall is our chief source of information

---

[1] This description was taken by K P. Jayaswal to mean that Dēvasēna abdicated in favour of his son Harishēṇa; but verses 12-16 of the inscription convey no such idea The inscription is merely intended to glorify Hastibhōja, to whom Dēvasēna consigned the cares of government Similar statements occur in some other records also They are not to be taken literally

[2] No. 25

[3] For the epoch of the Ganga era see my article in *Ep Ind.*, Vol XXVI, pp. 325 f, *S I*, Vol. II, pp. 110 f.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 103 f

[5] For the dates of the kings of Śarabhapura, see *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. VIII, pp 47 f; *S I*, Vol I, pp 231 f

[6] No. 27.

[7] No. 25

for the history of this Vatsagulma branch. He caused also the Ghaṭōtkacha cave Gulwādā, a few miles from Ajantā, to be excavated and decorated, where he has left a inscription,[1] describing his ancestors

Harishēna is the last known king of this line He may have been followed by one or two other princes, but even their names have not come down to us In any case the dynasty seems to have been overthrown by *circa* 550 A C by the Katachchuris or Kalachuris of Māhishmatī The coins of Krishnarāja, who heads the genealogical list in early Kalachuri grants have been found all over the country extending from Vidiśā in the north to Nāsik and Karhād in the south and from Bombay in the west to the Districts of Amarāvatī and Bētul in the east This Kalachuri king seems therefore to have reared his Empire over the ruins of the Vākātaka dominion Svāmirāja whose plates dated in the Kalachuri year 322 (573-71 A C.) were issued from Nandivardhana was probably a feudatory of the Kalachuri Krishnarāja

The causes which led to the sudden disintegration of the mighty Vākātaka Empire have not been recorded in history, but Dandin's *Daśakumāracharita*, which was written within about a hundred and twenty-five years after the fall of the Vākātakas, appears to have preserved a living tradition about the last period of Vākātaka rule This Sanskrit work in its last chapter called *Viśrutacharita* narrates the adventures of Viśruta, one of the *Kumāras* who were followers of Rājavāhana, son of Rājahamsa, the dethroned king of Magadha.[2]

The narrative points to the existence of a large southern empire. The emperor ruled directly over Vidarbha which comprises the Marāthī-speaking districts of the former Madhya Pradēsh and the Hyderābād State Vidarbha had a number of feudatory kingdoms, *viz*. Kuntala Southern Mahārāshtra), Aśmaka (the country on the southern bank of the Gōdāvarī), Rishīka (Khāndēsh), Murala (country near the Gōdāvarī), Nāsikya (Nāsik District) and Konkana The Empire thus extended from the Narmadā in the north to the Tungabhadrā in the south and from the Arabian Sea in the West to at least the Waingangā in the east A young prince succeeded to this large empire after the death of his illustrious father. This prince, though intelligent and accomplished in all arts, neglected the study of the science of politics His father's old minister counselled him again and again to apply himself to the study of the *dandanīti*, but he, coming under the influence of his licentious courtier, treated the advice with contempt, gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures and indulged in all kinds of vices, neglecting the affairs of the State. His subjects imitated him and led a vicious and dissolute life Consequently, disorder and lawlessness became rampant in the kingdom Finding this a suitable opportunity, the crafty ruler of the neighbouring Aśmaka country, sent his minister's son to the court of Vidarbha The latter ingratiated himself with the king and egged him on in his dissolute life He also contrived to decimate his forces by various means Ultimately, when the country was thoroughly disorganised, the ruler of Aśmaka instigated the king of Vanavāsī (modern Banavāsī in North Kānadā District) to invade the kingdom of Vidarbha. The latter advanced with a large force and occupied some portion of Southern Vidarbha The young Emperor of Vidarbha then mobilised his forces and called all feudatories to his aid Among those who rallied under his banner were, besides the treacherous prince of Aśmaka, the rulers of Kuntala, Murala, Rishīka, Nāsikya and Konkaṇa. Aided by these feudatories, the Emperor of Vidarbha decided to give battle to the enemy on the bank of the Varadā (modern Wardhā) The ruler of Aśmaka, however, secretly conspired

[1] No. 26

[2] For a summary of the narrative and detailed discussion of the historical data furnished by it, see my article in *A B O R.I.*, Vol XXVI, pp. 20 f, *S I*, Vol I, pp 165 f

with the king of Kuntala and caused disaffection among other feudatories also. They treacherously attacked their suzerain in the rear, while he was fighting with the invading forces of the king of Vanavāsī. The emperor was killed in the battle. The cunning Aśmaka king then contrived to cause dissenssions among the feudatories also. They fought among themselves for the spoils of the war and destroyed one another. He then appropriated the whole booty and, giving some part of it to the invader, induced him to return to Vanavāsī, and himself annexed the kingdom of Vidarbha. In the meanwhile the old faithful minister of Vidarbha safely escorted the queen of Vidarbha with her two small children—a prince and a princess—to Māhishmatī, where the late emperor's half-brother was reigning. The latter made advances to the widowed queen, but was repulsed by her. He then wanted to kill the little prince of Vidarbha, but was himself murdered by Viśruta, who espoused the latter's cause and placed him on the throne of Māhishmatī.

The narrative ends abruptly here. So we do not know whether the boy-prince ultimately succeeded in ousting the ruler of Aśmaka from Vidarbha and regaining his ancestral throne.

The narrative seems to reflect faithfully the actual political conditions in Vidarbha in the period which followed the death of Harishēna in *circa* 500 A.C. In later centuries the centre of imperial power in the Deccan shifted successively to Māhishmatī, Bādāmī, Mānyakhēta and Kalyāna, but it was never in Vidarbha. Some of the geographical names also went out of use in later times. One such instance is that of Rishīka. This country is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyana and Bṛihatsamhitā* and in the Nāsik cave inscription of Pulumāvi, but it is unknown to later works and inscriptions[1]. All these indications point to the sixth century A.C. as the age in which the incidents described in the *Viśrutacharita* happened. Dandin, whose ancestors originally belonged to Vidarbha, had evidently reliable sources of information[2], as he gives details about the kingdoms flourishing in the period which are substantiated in all material points by contemporary inscriptional evidence. His narrative clearly shows that the great Vākātaka empire which once extended from beyond the Narmadā in the north to the Tungabhadrā in the south suddenly crumbled to pieces owing to the incompetence of Harishena's successor and the treacherous defection of his feudatories. As Dandin's narrative ends abruptly, we do not know whether Harishēna's grandson regained the throne of Vidarbha with external aid. He may have succeeded in doing so with the assistance of the Vishnukundin Mādhavavarman I, the mightiest king of the age, who was ruling over Andhra and who is credited with the performance of eleven Aśvamēdhas. The latter had married a Vākātaka princess who was probably Harishena's own daughter. But the Vākātaka prince could not evidently have retained his hold over Vidarbha for a long time, for, as we have already seen, the Kalachuri Krishnarāja, who in the meanwhile had established himself at Māhishmatī, extended his sway over Vidarbha as well as over Northern Mahārāshtra by 550 A.C. The Somavamśīs, Gangas and Vishnukundins asserted their independence in the east, while the Rāshtrakūtas must have gradually gained strength in the south. Thus disappeared the last vestiges of Vākātaka power after a glorious rule of nearly 300 years.

[1] See *A B O R I*, Vol. XXV, pp. 167 f.

[2] According to the *Avantisundarīkathā* and the *Avantisundarīkathāsāra*, Dandin was the great-grandson of the Sanskrit poet Dāmōdara who originally hailed from Achalapura and was later patronised by the Ganga king Durvinīta and the Pallava king Simhavishnu. Dāmōdara must therefore have lived in the last quarter of the sixth century A.C. His great-grandson Dandin can consequently be referred to the third quarter of the seventh century A.C. Dandin thus appears to have flourished about a hundred and twenty-five years after the fall of the Vākātakas. It is therefore not unlikely that he had fairly reliable information about the closing period of the Vākātaka age.

CHAPTER VII

ADMINISTRATION

THE country under the direct rule of the two branches of the Vākātaka dynasty extended roughly from the Narmadā in the north to the valley of the Gōdāvarī in the south and from the eastern boundary of Rishīka (Khāndēsh) in the west to the western boundary of Dakshina Kōsala (Chhattisgadh) in the east This vast territory was divided into a number of *rāshtras*, also called *rājyas*, corresponding to the modern Commissioners' Divisions, some of which find a mention in our records We have thus the Pākkana *rāshtra* mentioned in the Belorā plates[1], the Bhojakata *rājya* in the Chammaka plates[2] Vāruchha *rājya* in the Pāndhurnā plates[3] and the Ārammi *rājya* in the Dudia and Pāndhurnā plates [4] In the records of contemporary feudatory families, whose kingdoms were comparatively smaller, the *rāshtras* were named after the directions in which they were situated. Thus we find the Uttara *rāshṭra* or Northern Division mentioned in the Bamhanī plates of the Pāndavavamśī king Bharatabala[5], and the Pūrva *rāshtra* or Eastern Division named in the Ārang plates of Mahā-Jayarāja[6] and the Raipur plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja[7] No such divisions are, however, noticed in the Vākātaka grants The *rāshṭras* were next divided into a number of *vishayas* or districts This appears clear from the statement in the Bamhanī plates that the Pañchagartā *vishaya* in which the donated village was situated was included in the Uttara *rāshtra* (division) of Mekalā [8] The names of *vishayas* generally ended in *kaṭa* or *kaṭaka* Four such *vishayas* are named in our records viz Bhojakata comprising roughly the territory of the modern Amarāvatī District[9], Bennākata corresponding to the modern Bhandārā and Bālāghāt Districts[10], Nāngarakataka, the exact location of which is uncertain[11], and Nāndīkata which comprised the territory round modern Nāndēd in the Mahārāshtra State[12] When a *vishaya* was too large, it was divided into parts which were named after the directions in which they were situated We thus find the *apara-patta* or western division of the Bennākata mentioned in the Tirōdī plates[13] The *vishayas* were further sub-divided into *āhāras* and *bhōgas* or *bhuktis* Only one *āhāra* viz the Supratishṭha *āhāra* is mentioned in our records[14] It seems to have comprised parts of the modern Hinganghāt, Warōdā and Yeotmāl *tahsils* of Vidarbha The relation of *āhāra* to *bhōga* is not known Our records mention three *bhōgas* viz Bennākārparabhōga[15], Lōhanagarabhoga[16]

---

[1] No. 5, line 13
[2] No 6, line 18
[3] No. 14, line 20
[4] No. 10, line 13, No 14, lines 26 and 29
[5] No 19, line 34
[6] *C I I*, III, p 193
[7] *Ibid*, p. 198.
[8] No 19, lines 34-35
[9] Bhojakata is said to have been founded by Rukmin, the brother-in-law of Krishna. See *Harivamśa*, Vishnuparvan, ch 60 v. 32
[10] No 11, line 13
[11] No 24, line 2
[12] No 23, line 5
[13] No. 11, line 13
[14] No 2, line 10; No 3, line 17, No 12, line 17
[15] No 7, line 17-18.
[16] No. 13, line 20

and Hiranyapurabhōga[1], and one *bhukti*, *viz*, Asibhukti[2] which was probably included in the Pākkana *rāshtra* The *bhōgas* contained cities, towns and villages[3] The names of the cities and towns generally ended *nagara* or *pura*, such as Aśvatthanagara, Pravarapura, Hiranayapura, Chandrapura, Padmapura, etc Sometimes towns were named after the princes who founded them Compare Pravarapura founded by Pravarasēna II The names of villages ended in *grāma* (cf Danguna-grāma, Śirshagrāma, Manduki-grāma, etc), *khēta* or *khētaka* (cf Varadākhēta, Aśvatthahētaka), *vātaka* (cf Bōnthikavātaka, Pavarajjavātaka, etc) or *viraka* (cf. Karañjaviraka, Darbhaviraka, etc) Some territorial divisions were named after the number of villages included in them Such was Pravarēśvara-shadvimśati-vātaka[4] It appears to have been a group of twenty-six villages which received this name after a shrine of Śiva under the name of Pravarēśvara erected by Pravarasēna I

In the earlier records of the Sātavāhanas, geographical names occur in Prakrit As the Vākātakas adopted Sanskrit for writing their charters, the names of mountains, rivers, towns and villages are given in that classical language It is interesting to note that the Sātmālā range in which the Ajantā caves are situated is called *Sahya-pāda* in an inscription at Ajantā[5] In some cases the names of rivers have since been changed quite out of recognition Thus the river Umā mentioned in the Jāmb plates is now known as Wannā[6] Similarly the Madhunadī[7], on the bank of which the village Charmānka (modern Chhammak) was situated, bears now the name of Chandrabhāgā The names of the Bēnnā[8] and the Hiranyā[9] mentioned in the Tirodī and Wadgaon plates can, however, still be recognised in the Waingangā and Ērai of modern times

The form of government in the Vākātaka age was monarchical The king had supreme authority which was, however, checked considerably by the dictates of religious works like the *Smritis* There is no reference to any *Mantri-parishad* or Council of Ministers in Vākātaka grants It is needless to say that there was no popular assembly also Still, the rule of kings was not despotic or oppressive to the people The ideal of a Welfare State has always been kept before Indian kings by the writers of *Smritis* and *Arthaśāstras* and it has also been preached by great Sanskrit poets like Kālidāsa[10] Many of the Vākātakas must have attempted to reach it Our records are unfortunately lacking in details about the

---

[1] No. 10, line 16

[2] No. 4, line 13 and No 5, line 13

[3] *Mārga*, which is generally translated by 'a way', seems also to have denoted a territorial division The records of the Śarabhapurīya kings, which use *taddhita* forms from words denoting territorial divisions (e g. *vaishayika*, *bhogīya* etc) contain the expression Sundarikā-mārgīya derived from Sundarikā-mārga. This shows that like *vishaya* and *bhōga*, *mārga* also meant a territorial division. We have several such divisions in Vākātaka grants See e g. Sailapura-mārga mentioned in the Belorā plates (Nos. 4 and 5, line 13), Kauśika-mārga in the Riddhapur plates (No 8, line 12), Gēpuraka-mārga in the Indore plates (No 9, line 8), Varadākhēta-mārga, in the Pattan plates (No 13, line 20), Sundhāti-mārga and Yaśapura-mārga in the Pātnā Museum plates (No 15, lines 2 and 6), Uttara-mārga (which is specifically mentioned as situated in Nāndīkata) in the Bāsim plates (No 23, line 5) and Uttara-mārga (in Nāngarakataka) in the India Office plate (No 24, line 1) *Mārga* corresponds to the territorial division *pathaka* mentioned in other records

[4] No 5, line 14

[5] No. 27, line 23.

[6] No. 3, line 17

[7] No. 6, line 18.

[8] No. 11, line 13

[9] No. 12, line 1.

[10] Cf प्रजाना विनयाधानाद्रक्षणाद्भरणादपि । स पिता पितरस्तासा केवल जन्महेतव. ॥ *Raghuvamśa* I, 24

administration of the kings, but the description they give of Prithivīshena I is significant. He was marked out not only for his personal bravery, intelligence and political widsom but also for such virtues as truthfulness, straightforwardness and compassion He took pride in being *Dharmavijayin* i e. a righteous conqueror [1] This means that he never waged any war for self-aggrandisement He conferred his gifts on worthy recipients He strove to follow in his life the example of Yudhishthira, the well-known Pāndava king of yore, whose name has been held in great veneration throughout the ages We have no account of the lives of other kings of this dynasty, but in the absence of any evidence to the contrary we may suppose that they also tried to rule in the same manner Pravarasēna II in particular is said to have established Krita-Yuga (Golden Age) by his wise rule It may also be noted in this connection that Harishēna, the last known Vākātaka king, is described in an Ajantā inscription of his feudatory as one who secured the well-being of his subjects [2]

Unlike the Kushānas and the Guptas of North India, the Vākātakas did not assume high-sounding titles like *Shāhānushāhi* or *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, etc ,[3] but contented themselves with the older modest style of *Mahārāja* [4] They did not also claim any divine origin,[5] but believed that they owed their royal fortune to the grace of their *ishta-dēvatā* Thus, Rudrasena II is described as one whose royal fortune was due to the grace of the god Chakrapāni (Vishnu) [6] His son Pravarasēna II is said to have obtained his weapon of Śūla by the special favour of the god Śambhu (Śiva) [7] Their feudatories, the Pāndava kings of Mekalā, however, who had come into contact with the Guptas, describe themselves in their grants as *parama-guru-dēvat-ādhidaivata-viśesha*[8] i e highly venerable personages, deities and supreme divinities They thus claimed superhuman power Again, Lokaprakāśā, the queen of the Pāndavamśī king Bharatabala, is described as born in a family descended from gods [9] The Vākātakas did not claim for themselves descent from any god or eponymous hero, but these feudatories of Mēkalā proudly proclaimed their birth in the venerable Pāndava-vamśa descended from the Moon The contemporary rulers of Mahākāntāra (modern Bastar District and the adjoining territory) similarly claimed that they were descended from the king Nala of epic fame[10]

The Vākātaka grants mention three kinds of feudatories, viz , (i) those who submitted to the Emperor when they came to know of his resolve to subdue them, (ii) those who

---

[1] Cf No 4, line 8, No 6, line 10 etc His ancestor Pravarasēna I and some members of the Vatsagulma branch assumed the title of *Dharmamahārāja* indicative of their piety and their support to the Vedic religion

[2] No 27, line 21

[3] *C I I*, Vol III, No 1, line 8, No 5, lines 2-3 etc

[4] It has been supposed that the title *Mahārāja* assumed by the Vākātakas as contrasted with *Mahārājādhirāja* mentioned in connection with the Gupta Emperors indicates the inferior political status of the former *H C I P.*, Vol III, p 180 It should, however, be noted that the kings of the Vatsagulma branch had assumed the same title even before the time of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II, when there could have been no question of subordination to the Guptas See No 22, line 1-3. Pravarasēna I's title *samrāt* was due to his performance of Vājapēya sacrifices His title *Mahārāja* is also sometimes mentioned along with it

[5] The epithet *Hāritīputra* applied to Pravarasena I in the Bāsim plates (No 23, line 3) perhaps originally meant 'a son of (*i e* favoured by) the Buddhist goddess Hāritī' Later, it came to mean a descendant (or disciple) of the sage Hārīti. *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, p 31, *Vikramānkadēvacharita*, I, 58

[6] No 3, line 13

[7] No 15, line 1

[8] No 19, line 9 and 14 The Guptas assumed the title of *Paramadaivata* also See *Ep Ind*, Vol XV, p 130

[9] No 19, line 29

[10] *Ep Ind*, Vol XIX, p 102

submitted on being attacked, and (iii) those who were vanquished by valour [1] The imperial yoke on these feudatories must have been lighter than in North India, for, they do not usually mention their overlords [2] They must, of course, have been required to pay tribute and to join the imperial army in all wars of offence and defence [3]

We do not get much information about the administrative organization of the Vākātakas Unlike the grants and seals of copper-plate charters of the Guptas, the Vākātaka inscriptions do not generally mention the names of the consorts of the ruling kings The only exceptions known are Prabhāvatīguptā[4], the *agra-mahishī* (crowned queen) of Rudrasena II, and Ajjhitabhattārikā[5], the queen of Narēndrasēna The former acted as Regent for her minor son *Yuvarāja* Divākarasēna for at least thirteen years. Other queens do not appear to have taken any part in the administration of the kingdom The *Yuvarāja* may have assisted his father in governing the kingdom, but of this there is no specific mention in the grants [6]

The administration of the kingdom must have been carried on with the help of a large number of officers, civil and military, but few of them find a mention in our records The *Daśakumāracharita*, which in its eighth *uchchhvāsa* gives us a picture of the political and social conditions in the age of the Vākātakas, mentions the *mantrin* (Counsellor) and the *adhyakshas* (Heads of Departments), but they are not noticed in our records The inscription in Ajantā Cave XVI mentions the *Sachiva*[7] or Minister The officers who were appointed to govern the *rājyas* or provinces of the kingdom were known as *rājyādhikritas* or Governors. Chamidāsa, mentioned in the Tirōḍī plates, was an officer of this rank [8] The *Sarvādhyaksha*, who is usually mentioned in Vākātaka grants,[9] was probably the head of the Secretariat He was invested with authority to appoint subordinate officers called *Kulaputras* and direct them for the execution of royal orders The *Kulaputras* had various duties. Their primary function was of course the maintenance of law and order For this purpose they had a number of *bhaṭas* and *chhātras* under them [10] The *bhaṭas* were soldiers, while the *chhātras*, who correspond to the *chātas* mentioned in some inscriptions,[11] were policemen The *Kulaputras*, *Chhātras* and *bhatas*, like the *tahasildars* and police officers of modern times, toured in the districts for the collection of land-revenue and various taxes due to the State [12] They could seize the treasure trove, work salt and other mines, and make village people work free of charge for the State They were entitled to free boarding and lodging while touring in the districts for the work of the State [13] They must, no doubt, have been exacting and

---

[1] No 8, lines 26-27

[2] The Vākātaka suzerain is explicitly mentioned in No 27, line 21, while his name is covertly suggested in No 13, lines 32-34 The Śarabhapurīya kings, who were probably feudatories of the Vākātakas, do not, however, name their overlords

[3] In the eighth *Uchchhvāsa* of the *Daśakumāracharita*, the feudatories of the king of Vidarbha come to his help when he was attacked by the ruler of Vanavāsī.

[4] No 2, line 9

[5] No 18, line 31.

[6] The Riddhapur plates of the Nala king Bhavadattavarman were actually granted by his son *Mahārāja* Arthapati, who was probably *Yuvarāja* at the time

[7] No 25, line 15.

[8] No 11, line 33

[9] See e g No 3, line 20

[10] *Loc cit*

[11] No 19, line 37.

[12] Cf *ājñā-sañchāri-kulaputr-ādhikritā bhaṭāś-chhātrāś-cha* in No 3, line 21

[13] No 3, line 26.

oppressive in their dealings with the village people. They were therefore expressly forbidden to enter *agrahāra* villages donated to Brāhmanas, and could not claim from them any of the privileges allowed to them in other places except when they had to apprehend persons accused of high treason, the murder of a Brāhmana, theft, adultery or such other heinous crimes. So long as the donees of these land-grants did not rebel against the king and did not commit any offence against the residents of other villages, they were free from the molestations of these *bhaṭas* and *Chhātras*.[1] The *Kulaputras*, *bhaṭas* and *Chhātras* had therefore to be specially informed of every land-grant made by the king.

Another officer, who is, however, mentioned in a solitary grant of the Vākāṭakas,[2] was *Rajuka*. His name is derived from *rajjū* 'a rope', which shows that he was originally a Settlement Officer who measured land for the assessment of revenue. The *Rajukas* are mentioned in the edicts of Aśōka. In the Mauryan times they were high officers of the State who were placed in charge of many hundred thousands of men and who could at their discretion inflict punishment or confer a reward. They seem to have lost their high rank in course of time, for, the *rajuka* is mentioned in the aforementioned Vākāṭaka grant only as a writer of the charter. The *Rāhasika* mentioned in the Bamhanī plates[3] was probably the Private Secretary who acted as the confidential clerk of the king.

The only military and police officers mentioned in Vākāṭaka grants are the *Sēnāpati*[4] and the *Dandanāyaka*[5]. The *Senāpati* is almost invariably named in charters of land-grants as they were drafted in his office[6]. His title, like that of his lord, was a modest one. In North India, the Guptas introduced grandiloquent titles for their civil and military officers such as *Kumārāmātya*, *Sāndhivigrahika* and *Mahādandanāyaka*[7], but the Vākāṭakas preferred to continue the humbler titles of the earlier age. There were apparently frequent transfers of officers; for, we find that the post of the *Sēnāpati* was held by different persons or by the same person at different times during the reign of Pravarasēna II. Thus, the *Sēnāpati* of the king was Chitravarman in the 11th and 13th regnal years[8], Bāppa in the 18th and 25th years[9], Namidāsa and Chamidāsa in the 23rd year[10], Kātyāyana in the 27th year[11], and Mādhappa in the 29th year[12]. Sometimes the order for a land-grant was personally given by the king and this was indicated by the words *ājñā svayam* (ordered personally), recorded in the charter. In other cases the name of the *Dūtaka* (called *Ajñapti* in the Bāsim plates) who communicated the royal order to the *Sēnāpati's* office was mentioned at the end of the charter.[13] In one grant the names of the persons who got the charter drafted are also recorded[14]. Sometimes the name of the goldsmith who inscribed the copper-plates was also written at the end of the grant.[15]

---

[1] No. 6, line 42-43.
[2] No. 9, line 34.
[3] No. 19, line 48.
[4] See e.g. No. 5, line 30.
[5] No. 24, line 2.
[6] A *smriti* verse cited in the *Mitāksharā* on the *Yājñavalkyasmriti*, II, 319-20, states that the charters were to be written by the *Sāndhivigrahikā* or Minister for Peace and War.
[7] *C I I*, Vol. III, p. 10.
[8] No. 5, line 30 and No. 6, line 60.
[9] No. 7, line 35 and No. 12, line 42.
[10] No. 10, line 28 and No. 11, line 33.
[11] No. 13, line 44.
[12] No. 14, line 54.
[13] Cf. the expression *rāj-ājñā-prada* used in place of *Dūtaka* in the Ponnutūru plates (line 6) of Sāmantavarman. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 220.
[14] No. 13, lines 46-47.
[15] No. 13, lines 45-46, No. 19, line 49.

The Bamhanī plates give the names of some village officers [1] The *Grāmakūta* was the head of the village administration The *Drōnāgrakanāyaka*, who also was informed of a land-grant, may have been the head of the Drōnāgraka (also called Drōnamukha)[2], the larger territorial division in which the donated village was included The *Dēvavārika*, who apparently helped the *Grāmakūta* in the management of the village affairs, may be identical with the *Dauvārika* (or *Pratīhāra*)[3], who was the head of the village Police The *Gandakas* were probably not different from the *bhatas* or soldiers mentioned in Vākātaka land-grants These officers and their subordinates collected land-revenue and other government dues and maintained peace and order in the village

Sources of State Revenue—Our records shed some light on the sources of royal income The main sources were of course the land revenue and other direct taxes They are mentioned as *klipta* and *upa-klipta* in Vākātaka inscriptions[4] *Klipta*, which means a fixed assessment, is mentioned also in Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*[5] It probably signified the land-tax *Upaklipta* probably meant minor taxes such as are mentioned in the *Manusmriti*, VII, 131-132[6] Besides these, the State claimed the right to confiscate the treasures and deposits accidentally discovered Digging for salt was again a royal monopoly Salt mines existed in Berar until recent times, Lonār (Sanskrit Lavanākara), a village in the Buldhānā District of Vidarbha, being specially noted for them Fermenting of liquors was also a royal pre-gorative The village officers were authorised to collect miscellaneous taxes in kind which are indicated by the expression *pushpa-kshīra-sandōha* in Vākātaka grants[7] These were evidently the same as those mentioned in the *Manusmriti*, VII, 118, which the head the village was authorised to collect on behalf of the king and appropriate in lieu of his pay The State had again the right to make people work free of wages for works of public utility The villagers had to provide all amenities to touring royal officers, such as grass for feeding their horses or bullocks, hides for their seats and charcoal for their cooking[8] The *agrahāra* villages were exempted from all these taxes and obligations

We have no record of any dissensions in the Vākātaka family as we have in the case of some other contemporary royal families The administration of the Vākātakas appears to have been very efficient and it secured peace and prosperity to their subjects As the inscription in Ajanta cave XVI states explicity, the ministers of the Vākātakas, by their good government, became always dear and accessible to the people like their father, mother and friend They governed the country righteously, shining by their fame, religious merit and excellences[9] In describing Vidarbha as *saurājya-ramya* (attractive through good government) Kālidāsa was probably paying a tribute to the excellent administration of the Vākātakas[10]

---

1 No 19, line 35

2 Kautilya mentions *Drōnamukha* as the chief village in a territorial division of 400 villages See *Arthaśāstra* (second ed by Shama Sastri), p. 46

3 *Pratīhara*, which is a synonym of *Dauvārika*, is used in this sense in the *Śukranītisāra*, II, 120-21, 170-75

4 See *e g* No 3, line 28 No. 19 mentions *udranga* and *uparikara* and also *bhāga* and *bhōga* in the same sense

5 *Arthaśāstra* (second ed), p 60

6 आददीताथ षड्भाग द्रुमासमधुसर्पिषाम् । गन्धोषधिरसाना च पुष्पमूलफलस्य च ॥ पत्रशाकतृणाना च चर्मणा वैदलस्य च । मृन्मयाणा च भाण्डाना सर्वस्याश्ममयस्य च ॥

7 See *e g* No 5, line 20

8 *Ibid* , lines 20-21.

9 No 25, lines 12 and 15

10 *Raghuvamśa*, canto V, v 60. In v 40 of the same canto Kālidāsa describes the capital of Vidarbha as prosperous (*riddha*)

CHAPTER VIII

RELIGION

THERE was unprecedented religious activity in the age of the Vākātakas The founder of the royal family was the *Grihapati* Vākātaka, who was a follower of Buddhism He went on a pilgrimage to the distant holy place of Amarāvatī in the Guntur District of Andhradeśa, where he has left an inscription recording his gift of a stone pillar for the longevity of himself, his two wives, friends and relatives [1] The gift was made at the instance of the *Thēra* (Buddhist Bhikshu) Bōdhika The descendants of this *Gṛihapati* Vākātaka changed their religious faith and became staunch supporters of the Vēdic and Purānic religion They were guided in this by a pious Brāhmana family of Vallūra This family maintained its reputation for Vedic learning for several generations [2] Its founder was Yajñapati, who was probably a contemporary of the Vākāṭaka king Vindhyaśakti His son Dēva had great influence with the ruling prince, for, we are told that on account of him the whole kingdom including the king engaged itself in religious activities [3] As a matter of fact, we find a phenomenal religious activity in that age Pravarasēna I, the son of Vindhyaśakti I who had made extensive conquests, performed a large number of Vedic sacrifices such as four Aśvamēdhas and the seven Sōma sacrifices including the Vājapēya [4] Thereafter we have no record of Vedic sacrifices being performed by later Vākātaka kings,[5] but they must have extended liberal patronage to learned Brāhmaṇas and helped them in the performance of Śrauta sacrifices [6] Thus, one grant of Pravarasēna II records the gift of 8000 *nivartana* of land to as many as a thousand Brāhmanas [7] Several other grants of this prince and his mother as well as of some princes of the Vatsagulma branch have been discovered, which record gifts of land and even of whole villages to learned Brāhmaṇas

Purānic Hinduism also received a fillip during the age of the Vākātakas Several temples dedicated to Hindu gods were erected throughout their dominion Most of the Vākātaka princes were devotees of Śiva So the temples of that god must have been much larger in number than those of other deities Owing to paucity of inscriptions we do not however, notice many references to them Pravarasēna I, the great Emperor who distinguished himself by his numerous Vedic sacrifices, is known to have constructed a temple of Śiva under the name of Pravarēśvara [8] The territorial division of twenty-six villages in which it was situated came to be known by its name His grandson Rudrasēna I, who succeeded him, also constructed a *dharmasthāna* (temple) at Chikkamburi,[9] modern Chikmār in the Chāndā District, which was probably dedicated to his *ishṭa-dēvatā* Mahābhairava

---

[1] *Ep Ind*, Vol XV, p 267

[2] No 26, line 8

[3] *Ibid*, line 5

[4] See e g No 3, line 1

[5] They are known to have performed *Grihya* rites like the Ganayāga. The Jāmb plates Pravarasēna II record his gift to a Brāhmana who is described as *Gana-yājin* No 3, line 19.

[6] Ancestors of the famous Sanskrit poet Bhavabhūti, who were learned and pious Brāhmanas ar originally belonged to Udumbara, were probably invited by the Vākātakas to their capital Padmapur where they settled down and performed several Vedic sacrifices See *Ep Ind*, Vol XXII, pp. 210

[7] No 6, line 20

[8] No 4, line 13, No 5, line 14, No 14, line 1 The names of Śiva generally ended in *īśvara* ar those of Vishnu in *svāmin* So the temple of Pravarēśvara was probably dedicated to Śiva

[9] No 1, line 6

Temples dedicated to Vishnu also were not rare Rudrasēna II, the grandson of Rudrasēna I, became a devotee of Chakrapāni (Vishnu)[1] probably through the influence of his chief queen Prabhāvatīguptā, who, like her illustrious father Chandragupta II, was a devout worshipper of that god [2] She frequently visited the temple on the holy hill of Rāmagiri situated not far from her capital, where the foot-prints of Rāmachandra, an incarnation of Vishnu, were installed Both her known grants[3] are made on Kārttika śu di 12, evidently at the time of the *pāranā* after the completion of the fast on the preceding *Prabōdhinī Ēkādaśī* One of them specifically mentions the foot-prints of Rāmagirisvāmin, near which the grant was made [4] Some other grants of her son also appear to have been made at the same place In one grant[5] a half of the village donated was given by a merchant named Chandra There was another famous temple at Aśvatthakhetaka (modern Pattan in the Bētul District), in which also the object of worship was a pair of the foot-prints of Mahāpurusha (Vishnu) Pravarasēna II made a munificent donation of 400 *nivartanas* of land for the maintenance of the charitable feeding house (*sattra*) attached to the temple [6]

Another temple of Rāmachandra probably existed at Pavnār near Wardhā, just at the place where Vinōbāji's *āśrama* now stands on the bank of the river Dhām It appears to have been decorated with beautiful panels depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyana*, some of which have recently been discovered at the place [7] These panels were probably built into the walls of the temple as in the case of the Gupta temple at Dēvagaḍh As shown above, Pavnār is probably identical with Pravarapura, which Pravarasēna II founded and made the seat of his government some time after the eleventh regnal year This temple may have been constructed by him at the instance of his mother, the dowager queen Prabhāvatīguptā So long as the capital was at Nandivardhana, Prabhāvatīguptā could have the *darśana* of her *ishta-dēvatā*, (i e Rāmachandra) at Rāmagiri which was only about 3 miles away; but when the capital was shifted to Pravarapura, she, having gone to stay there, must have felt the need of a temple of Rāmchandra there. At her instance her dutiful son Pravarasēna II appears to have erected this temple and got it decorated by the best artists of the age Vinōbāji's *āśrama*, which is situated on an artificial mound and the area round which yielded the panels mentioned above, probably marks the site of this temple [8]

Buddhism also was flourishing in the kingdom of the Vākātakas It had perhaps a greater attraction for those who on account of some calamities befalling them were convinced of the transitoriness of health, worldly possessions and life Varāhadēva, minister of the Vākātaka king Harishēna, who was so convinced, caused a magnificent *vihāra* cave to be excavated at Ajantā in memory of his father and mother [9] He got it adorned with windows, doors, beautiful picture-galleries, ledges, statues of the nymphs of Indra, etc It contained a temple of the Buddha inside and was provided with a large reservoir of water as also with a shrine of the lord of the Nāgas He presented the magnificent cave to the Community of Buddhist Monks at Ajantā

---

[1] No 3, line 13

[2] Note the expression *atyanta-bhagavad-bhaktā* descriptive of her in her grant No 2, line 8

[3] No. 2, line 14, No 8, line 31.

[4] No 8, line 1, रामगिरिस्वामिन पादमूलात् ।

[5] No 9, line 20

[6] No 13, lines 22-23

[7] For a description of these panels, see below, pp. lxi f.

[8] For a full discussion of this matter see my article entitled 'Pravarapura An ancient Capital of the Vākātakas' in *Sarūpa-Bhāratī*, pp 271 f See also *S I*, Vol. II, pp 272 f

[9] No 25 line 18

Varāhadēva caused another cave to be excavated at Gulwādā, 11 miles west of Ajantā Like Cave XVI, this cave also is of the *Vihāra* type, with a shrine of the Buddha in the *dharma-chakra-pravartana-mudrā* at the farther end It is decorated with beautiful sculptures and well-carved pillars and pilasters, but contains no paintings As the inscription in which Varāhadēva gave an account of his ancestors[1] is sadly mutilated in its lower portion, the purpose for which the cave was excavated remains unknown. Nearby is another smaller cave of the *vihāra* type which also was probably excavated by the same minister and dedicated to the Buddhist Sangha

Two other caves at Ajantā belong to the age of the Vākātakas They are the Vihāra Cave XVII and the Chaitya Cave XIX Both were excavated by a feudatory of Harishēna, who ruled over the Rishīka country His name is unfortunately lost, as the inscription in Cave XVII, in which he had given an account of himself and his ancestors, is now very much mutilated. From the extant portion of it we learn that this prince was overwhelmed with sorrow at the premature death of his younger brother Ravisāmba [2] Being convinced of the transitoriness of worldly existence, he began to lead a pious life. Realizing that wealth causes an obstacle in the attainment of *siddhi*, he adorned the earth with *stūpas* and *vihāras* He caused the excellent monolith *maṇḍapa* (i e. Cave XVII) containing the *chaitya* of the Buddha to be excavated and provided it with a water-cistern To the west of it, in another part of the hill he caused a *gandhakuṭī* (i e Chaitya Cave XIX) to be excavated These two are known for their excellent paintings and sculptures respectively

As this inscription states, there must have been many such *vihāras* and *chaityas* excavated or constructed in other parts of the Vākātaka empire, but they have now passed into oblivion

An analysis of the grants of the Vākāṭaka kings and their feudatories would shed interesting light on the religious tendencies of the age Of the 27 inscriptions edited here, as many as nine are either incomplete or record no gift. Of the remaining eighteen grants, three[3] record donations of *vihāra* and *chaitya* caves to Buddhist Sanghas, and fifteen, gifts of some land or village to Hindu gods and Brāhmanas This shows that Buddhism was gradually losing ground[4] and Hinduism was asserting itself It would again be interesting to see on what occasions the gifts were made. The grants to Buddhist Sanghas mention no particular occasion Again, two[5] of the grants to Brāhmanas contain only season dates and therefore afford no basis for conjecture. Of the remaining thirteen grants also, only three[6] state explicitly the *tithi* of the gift, while the others contain only the dates when the gifts were actually recorded From these latter, however, we can in some cases conjecture the occasion of the gift. For instance, if a gift is recorded on the 12th or the 13th of the bright or dark fortnight of a month, it would not be wrong to conjecture that it was made on the occasion of the *pāraṇā* after observing a fast on the preceding *ēkādaśī* (11th *tithi*) We thus find that of the aforementioned thirteen grants, as many as nine were made at the time of the *pāraṇās* of the following *ēkādaśīs*—

---

[1] No. 26 lines 3 f

[2] No 27 lines 12 f

[3] *Viz* Nos 25, 26 and 27

[4] In the preceding age of the Sātavāhanas, most of the inscriptions recorded gifts to Buddhist Saṅghas.

[5] Nos 10 and 23

[6] Nos 2, 7 and 14.

	Name of Ēkādaśī	*Total no of grants*
1	Jyēshtha śu di 11 (now called Nirjalā)	One[1]
2	Bhādrapada va di 11	One[2]
3	Āśvina śu di 11 (now called Pāśānkuśā)	One[3]
4	Kārttika śu di 11 (now called Prabōdhinī)	Four[4]
5	Māgha va di 11 (now called Shat-tilā)	One[5]
6	Phālguna śu di 11 (now called Āmalakī)	One[6]

This shows what importance the *ēkādaśī-vrata* had attained in that age Again, even among the *ēkādaśīs*, that called *Prabōdhinī ēkādaśī* was regarded as most sacred It is interesting to note that Kālidāsa also mentions this *tithi* in the *Mēghadūta*[7] as the day of deliverance for the exiled Yaksha It was believed that on that *tithi* the god Vishnu rose from his serpent couch after a sleep of four months

One grant (No 12) recorded on Jyēshtha śu di 10 was made to a Brāhmana who is described as *Vishuva-vāchanaka* It seems therefore to have been made on the occasion of the Mēsha Sankrānti In the case of the two grants,[8] no particular sacred *tithi* seems to have been the occasion of the gifts One grant (No 14) was made on the occasion of *tila-vāchanaka* i e probably a śrāddha

The foregoing analysis reveals certain surprising facts Most of the Vākātaka kings were *Paramamāhēśvaras* i e devout worshippers of Mahēśvara or Śiva Still, apart from No 1 which may have recorded the construction of a temple of that god there is not a single inscription which records a gift in honour of him Similarly, there is no mention of any gift having been made on a solar or a lunar eclipse It may be noted in this connection that eclipses and *sankrāntis* were the usual occasions when land-grants were made to Brāhmanas in later times, while gifts on completion of the *ēkādaśī-vrata* were very rare

---

[1] No 6
[2] No 19
[3] No 3
[4] Nos 2, 4, 5, and 8.
[5] No 11
[6] No 7
[7] Cf शापान्तो मे भुजगशयनादुत्थिते शार्ङ्गपाणौ I v 120
[8] Nos 9 and 15 In the case of the former grant which was recorded on Vaiśākha va. di 5 it is possible to say that it was made on the preceding *tithi sankashta-chaturthī*, which is sacred to Ganapati, but it is doubtful if that god had attained such importance in the Vākātaka age There is generally no obeisance to him in the beginning of early grants

CHAPTER IX

SOCIETY

OUR records do not yield much information about the social condition in the age of the Vākātakas Hindu society was then no doubt divided into castes, but the caste system had not become quite rigid Some of the royal families of that age belonged to the Brāhmana, and some to the Kshatriya caste The Vākātakas were Brāhmanas of the Vishnuvriddha *gotra*.[1] Their feudatories who ruled over the Mēkalā country traced their descent from the Pāndavas[2] of the lunar race and evidently claimed to be Kshatriyas The rulers of Mahākāntāra (modern Bastar District of Madhya Pradēsh and the adjoining territory) claimed descent from the famous king Nala They also must have been regarded as Kshatriyas In some other cases such as those of the rulers of Śarabhapura and Rishīka we have no means to ascertain their caste

Though people generally married within their caste, intercaste marriages of the *anulōma* type sanctioned by the *Smṛitis*[3] were not unknown The Brāhmana prince Rudrasēna II married the Vaiśya princess Prabhāvatīguptā This marriage brought no inferior status to her and her children; for she became the *agra-mahishī* (crowned queen) of the Vākātaka king and her sons Divākarasēna and Pravarasēna II succeeded to the throne one after the other Another inter-caste marriage of that age is mentioned in the Ghaṭōtkacha Cave inscription Sōma, a learned Brāhmana of Vallūra, married wives of both the Brāhmana and Kshatriya castes. His sons from the Brāhmana wives devoted themselves to the study of the *Vēdas* and made their native place famous by their learning. His sons from the Kshatriya wife, on the other hand, took to the military profession and distinguished themselves by their valour[4] Some of them became ministers of the Vākāṭaka kings.

The Brāhmanas who devoted themselves to the study of the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* were highly venerated. Some of them mastered more than one *Vēda* This was indicated by epithets like *Dvivēda* prefixed to their names[5], which had not yet become mere surnames. Some Brāhmaṇas officiated as priests at *Śrauta* sacrifices and *Gṛihya* rites Those who performed certain rites like *Gana-yāgas* were looked down upon and were not invited to a *śrāddha*. The Brāhmana who officiated at such rites received a munificent gift Some Brāhmanas preferred to lead a celibate life and were known as *naishthika Brahmachārins* Kāluṭṭaka, who received the Jāmb plates, was a Brāhmana of this type[6] Some Brāhmaṇas were known for their pious and saintly life Such was the *Āchārya* Chanālasvāmin who is described as *Bhagavad-bhakta* (a devotee of Vishnu) in the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīguptā[7] He was probably staying at Rāmagiri and appears to have been in charge of the temple of Rāmachandra there; for, the village Daṅguna which Prabhāvatīguptā granted to him was first offered to the feet of the god on Kārttika śu di 12

[1] No 3, line 2
[2] No 19, line 1.
[3] *Manusmriti*, III, 13
[4] No. 26, lines 7-8
[5] No. 12, line 22
[6] No 3, line 19
[7] No 2, line 14

From our records we get some interesting details about the Brāhmanas of Vidarbha in that age Their names usually ended in *śarman*, *ārya*, *āchārya* or *svāmin* They belonged to different *Vēdas* and *śākhās* or *charanas* Unfortunately, all records do not give details about the *Vēdas* and *śākhās* of the donees So the information is meagre We can nevertheless make some gleanings It is noteworthy that among the donees of copper-plate grants the *Rigvēdins* and the *Sāmavēdins* are conspicuous by their absence, not a single grant being made to them [1] Among the *Yajurvēdins*, the followers of the *Taittirīya śākhā* predominate, as many as six grants having been made to them [2] One grant is made to a Brāhmana of the *Mādhyandina śākhā* of the *White Yajurvēda.*[3] He was residing in Mēkalā In three other cases also the donees probably belonged to the *Vājasanēya* or *White Yajurvēda* as shown by the word *vāji* being prefixed to their *gōtra* [4] The Brāhmanas of the *Atharvavēda* are now extremely rare, but they were not so in those days; for, two grants, viz those recorded in the Tirōdī and Bāsim plates[5], were made to them One of the donees belonged to the Bālāghāt District and the others to the Akōlā District

Some Brāhmanas may have risen to a high rank in the administration of the State As the castes of the officers are nowhere mentioned in copper-plate grants, our information in this respect is very meagre, but judging by his name, Dēvanandasvāmin, who is named as *Dūtaka* in the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, probably belonged to the Brāhmana caste [6] Some of the scribes of the grants whose names ended in *dāsa* may also have been members of the same caste [7]

The Kshatriyas, who ranked next to the Brāhmanas in social hierarchy, occupied high positions in the administration of the State Thus, Chitravarman, who held the high office of the *Sēnāpati* in the 11th and 13th regnal years[8] of Pravarasēna II, was probably a Kshatriya. Other *Sēnāpatis* such as Chamidāsa, Namidāsa, Bāppadēva, Kātyayāna, and Mādhappa may also have been of the same caste, but we have now no means of ascertaining this. Judging by his name, Prabhusimha, the scribe of the Ṛiddhapur plates,[9] may also have been of the Kshatriya caste

Our records do not yield much information about other castes The Indore plates mention a merchant (*vāniyaka*) named Chandra, who could afford to purchase a half of the village which was granted to certain Brāhmanas by the Indore plates of Pravarasēna II [10] Some records mention the *suvarṇakāras* (goldsmiths) who engraved the copper-plates As no large stone inscriptions of the Vākātakas have yet been discovered, we do not get the names of any *sūtradhāras* (artisans) The artisans, sculptors and painters who built the temple at Pavnār and excavated and decorated with sculptures and paintings the Caves XVI, XVII and XIX at Ajantā and the Ghaṭōtkacha Cave at Gulwādā have also remained unknown

---

[1] Some of the donees of the Chammak plates which recorded grants to a thousand Brāhmanas of 'various *gōtras* and *charanas*' may have belonged to these *Vēdas* The *Vēdas* and *Śākhās* of the few donees who are named therein have not been recorded

[2] *Viz* Nos 3-5, 7, 8, 15

[3] No 19, line 39-40

[4] Nos. 9, 12 and 14

[5] Nos 11 and 22

[6] No 8, line 31.

[7] It is well known that the great Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa, who belonged to the Brāhmana caste, has a similar name It is noteworthy that the scribe of No 13 bore the same name

[8] No 5, line 30, No 6, line 60

[9] No 8, line 32

[10] No 9, line 20

The inscription in Ajantā Cave XVII states that a feudatory of Emperor Harishēna whose name has, unfortunately, been lost, being moved by compassion, released, by expenditure of wealth, (persons) whose eyes were suffused through fear, as though they were his (own) sons.[1] As this verse, like several others in that record, is very sadly mutilated it is not possible to say who these persons were. Perhaps they were domestic slaves. The institution of slavery was, no doubt, prevalent in ancient India. A slave had no right to property.[2] He had to do menial work. He was generally treated with kindness and so foreign observers like Megasthenes have recorded that none of the Indians employed slaves. The *Yājñavalkya Smriti* lays down that a king should release from bondage those who have been enslaved by force or have been sold by thieves. He who saved the life of his master was also set free. Those who were sold for money could be released by payment of the required amount to their master.[3] In the *Mrichchhakatika* Śarvilaka attempted to release his lady-love from servitude by this means. The slaves referred to in the aforementioned Ajantā inscription were probably of this type. Harishēna's feudatory took pity on them and released them from bondage by paying ransom-money and made them free citizens.

Inscriptions generally do not contain any particulars about the people's mode of living, their costume, jewellery, head-dresses, weapons, dwelling places, furniture, utensils, musical instruments and so forth. For these, we must turn to contemporary literature, sculpture and painting. The Vākātaka age produced several Sanskrit and Prakrit *kāvyas*, but most of them are now lost. The *Mēghadūta* of Kālidāsa and the *Sētubandha* of Pravarasēna II are the only *kāvyas* of the age, produced in Vidarbha, now extant. As the other *kāvyas* and *nāṭakas* of Kālidāsa were produced in Mālwā outside Vidarbha, the description in them may not be exactly true of Vidarbha. Still, these works also could be utilised with due caution. The best sources of information about the social condition of the time are the sculptures and paintings in Caves XVI, XVII and XIX at Ajantā, which were excavated and decorated in that age. Fortunately, many of these sculptures and paintings are still in a fairly good condition. They furnish considerable information about the customs and manners of the people of Vidarbha in that age.

As shown elsewhere, the custom of building temples and *vihāras* in stone and brick was coming into vogue in the age of the Vākātakas,[4] but these materials do not seem to have been generally used for constructing dwelling places for the rich or the poor. Ajantā paintings show that palaces, houses as well as shops in market places were constructed of wood. As is well known, early Indian architecture was in wood. When *Vihāras* and *Chaityas* came to be excavated in hills, many of the features of wooden architecture such as beams and rafters, unnecessary as they were in such excavations, were carved in stone. Wooden ribs can still be seen in some early caves such as the Chaitya Cave at Kārlā.

Ajantā paintings show that the palaces and mansions of rich persons were constructed on wooden pillars which were decorated with carvings or paintings in three places, at the bottom, in the middle and at the top. The pillars had stone pedestals and either round or elongated capitals. The lintels were decorated with *Chaitya* windows. The assembly halls were either square or round in shape with a small verandah in front. For the latter type,

[1] No. 27, line 17.

[2] *Manusmriti*, IX, 416.

[3] Adhyāya II, v. 182.

[4] Ajantā paintings occasionally show some small stone structures crowned with a dome, an *āmalaka* and a finial resembling those of the original temple at Bodh Gayā. They may be *dēvakulīs* or small temples. See *Ajanta*, Part III, Pl. LXI and IV, Pl. XLIV (a).

see the circular pavilion where queen Māyā is relating her dream to her husband [1] The halls were decorated with awnings and tapestries of various colours [2] Some buildings had dove-cots with gabled roofs[3] such as are described by Kālidāsa in the *Mēghadūta*, v 40 [4] The gateways leading from one part of a building to another had barrel-shaped roofs which were decorated with the designs of Chaitya-windows at both the ends [5] When necessary, shamianas (*pata-mandapas*) and tents (*upakāryās*) were erected They are mentioned by Kālidāsa in the description of the grand reception of prince Aja in Kundinapura, the capital of Vidarbha [6] Shops were generally square in shape and small in size, equipped with *chhajjās* of cloth or wickerwork in order to protect them from the sun and rain The dwellings of the poor had thatched roofs as at present [7]

The furniture in the halls was of a simple type Low square seats with round cushions for reclining against were used A stool called *pāda-pitha* was placed in front for resting the feet on The custom of placing pots one over another in slings suspended from the roof of a kitchen, which is even now in vogue, is noticed in some paintings [8] While dining, people sat on low square seats, with the plate placed in front on a low stool [9]

Ajantā paintings give us a glimpse into the various strata of society in Vidarbha Some people are shown black in complexion and short in stature, with a flat nose These may be the aborigines residing in Vidarbha and may have belonged to the Nāga race Those who excavated and painted the caves at Ajantā were probably of the same extraction [10] They have, therefore, sculptured and painted in several places Nāga-rājas with hoods of serpents over their heads [11] On the other hand, kings, queens, Brāhmanas as well as male and female servants, noticed everywhere, are of the Āryan race They are fair in complexion, tall in stature and graceful in features Besides, there were several foreigners such as the Śakas, Pārthians and Kushānas, who had settled in Mahārāshtra Some of these are portrayed in the Ajantā caves In the fresco in Cave XVII which represents the Buddha preaching to a congregation, we notice among the audience some persons with a conical head-dress, who are apparently of foreign origin [12] Elsewhere there appear others with a flat face and small eyes, dressed in a long robe, who, according to Mr Yazdani, may be Chinese [13] Pilgrims from China used to come to India to visit the sacred places of Buddhism

Ajanṭā paintings give us a clear idea of the costume and jewellery worn by men and women in Vidarbha in the age of the Vākātakas Most of them are shown dressed in a short *antarīyaka* or lower garment As it did not cover the knees, it was called *ardhōruka* In the *Harshacharita* Bāna has described it as one which left uncovered a third part of the thighs.[14] This cloth had stripes of different colours The lower garments of Rāma, Lakshmana and

---

[1] *Ajanta*, Part III, Pl LXI.
[2] *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl XVII (a)
[3] *Ibid*, Part III, Pl LXIII
[4] Cf ता कस्याचिद्भवनवलभौ सुप्तपारावताया नीत्वा रात्रि etc.
[5] *Ajanta*, Part III, Pl L, Part IV, Pl XXI.
[6] *Raghuvamśa*, Canto V, vv 63 and 83
[7] *Ajanta*, Part IV, Pl IV (c)
[8] *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl V
[9] *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl XXXVI
[10] *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl XV
[11] See below, pp lxviii f
[12] *Ajanta*, Part IV, Pl XXXIX
[13] *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl XXIII
[14] *Harshacharita* (Nirnayasāgar Press ed), p 22.

Sītā in the panel called 'Meeting of Bharata' from Pavnār are of the same type, but they are much broader, reaching down to the ankles. One end of this cloth which covered the left thigh was tucked behind like a *kachchha*, while the other, after covering both the legs was taken behind and after being tucked a little, was kept dangling like a tail. The lower garment was worn in a different manner in North India. Its pleats were gathered in front as seen in the sculptures at Sāñchī and Bharhut[2] Such pleats or *nīvīs* are seen nowhere in the paintings of the Vākāṭaka age at Ajantā, while the dangling end at the back is noticed almost everywhere[3] In the *Rājataranginī* Kalhana has given the following humorous description of this mode of wearing the lower garment by the southerners:—'The king (Lalitāditya) made the tail of the lower garment of the southerners touch the ground in order to show that they were beasts'[4]

Women also wore their lower garment in a similar fashion This is clear from one end of it dangling behind when they are shown seated or standing with the back turned towards others.[5] Some women, however, wore their lower garment in the *vikachchha* fashion *i e* without the ends of it being tucked up behind Some men wore a pair of shorts which were tied with a band called *katibandha*[6] This kind of lower garment was called *chandātaka* From the *Harshacharita* we learn that women also used to wear such a *chandātaka* or underwear inside a long robe or *kañchuka*[7]

While engaged in active exercise, such as horse-riding or hunting, men used to put on trousers and a long coat with full sleeves over them In the fresco representing the *Mṛiga-Jātaka*, the king who has gone a hunting is shown dressed in this manner[8] Many Gupta kings appear clad in the same fashion on their coins Some servants also are shown with long-sleeved robes in Ajantā paintings

Men usually wore an upper garment (*uttarīya*) which, like the sacred thread, went over the left shoulder and below the right arm pit This mode of wearing it kept the right arm free for movement In some paintings the *uttarīya* is seen turned over on the left shoulder Some persons used to fold it and wore it as a *vaikakshaka* across their breast[9] Some others took a long cloth and used it both as a lower and an upper garment[10] In some cases we find the *uttarīya* worn over a long-sleeved coat[11]

In many paintings at Ajantā, the upper part of the bodies of kings, queens and rich persons appears to be bare, while their servants, male and female, are clad in garments. This *prima facie* appears strange, but the painter's intention was to show that these men and women of high social status were wearing diaphanous clothes Sanskrit poets describe these garments as *niḥśvāsa-hārya*[12] (such as could be blown away by mere breath) or as *sarpa-nirmōka-laghutara*[13] (thinner than the sloughs of serpents) They also state that even

---

[1] See Plate B.

[2] In the earlier paintings in Cave IX at Ajantā also such pleats are shown. See *Ajanta*, Part III, Pl XVI

[3] *Ibid*, IV, Pl XLVIII, LXV etc

[4] *Rājataranginī*, IV, 180

[5] *Ajanta*, Part IV, Pl. LXIV(b).

[6] *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl LI(c)

[7] *Harshacharita* (Nirnayasāgar Press ed., 1912), pp. 31-32

[8] *Ajanta*, Part IV, Pl LXVIII(c)

[9] *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl IV(c).

[10] *Ibid.*, Part IV, Pl. XV.

[11] *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl. XVII(a).

[12] *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto XVI, v. 43

[13] *Harshacharita*, pp 31-32.

when they were worn, the inside limbs of the body such as the breasts and thighs, ornaments, sandal paste *etc* were clearly seen through them The painters have shown in their pictures what the poets described in their *kāvyas*

Some women used to wear a band called *payōdhara-pata* to cover their breasts [1] In the scene representing dying Sundarī, in Cave XVI, the maid who is fanning the princess has worn such a breast-band [2] Again, in the fresco of the *Viśvantara-Jātaka* where Jujaka is receiving the ransom-money, the queen who is sitting beside the king has also worn a similar *payōdhara-pata* [3] In the *Śākuntala*, when Śakuntalā complains that Priyamvadā had tied her bark-garment tightly and asks Anasūyā to loosen it, Priyamvadā retorts, 'You should rather blame your youth which has developed your breasts'[4] In this scene also a similar *payōdhara-pata* is evidently referred to As its knot used to be tied on the back, Śakuntalā had to ask her friend to loosen it The *kañchulikā* or half-sleeved bodice, now usually worn by Mahārāshtrian ladies, though not much in evidence, is noticed in some paintings For instance, the maid, standing near queen Māyā, as she is relating her dream to her husband, is shown to have worn such a bodice [5] Again, the woman with a child on her waist, who appears in the midst of suppliants assembled to receive alms in the fresco representing the *Viśvantara-Jātaka,* has put on a half-sleeved jacket of the modern type with the floral designs painted on it [6] In a scene of the *Simhvalāvadāna* in Cave XVII, a woman is shown to have worn a green bodice of the same type as is worn by Mahārāshtrian ladies at present [7] Women of the Śaka and Kushāna descent used to wear a half-sleeved jacket instead of a bodice [8]

Boys dressed themselves in the same manner as men This appears clear from the frescoes representing prince Siddhārtha and his young companions Some of them have one end of their lower garment dangling at the back, while some others are shown with a scarf on their shoulder, placed like an *uttarīya* [9]

After his enlightenment, the Buddha used to wear three garments, (i) the *antarāvāsaka* (which Yuan Chwang calls *nivasana*) or lower garment which was tied at the waist with a girdle, (ii) the *uttarāsanga,* also called *sankakshikā* which was worn like an *uttarīya* and (iii) the *sanghātī* or long cloak In the frescoes in Caves XVI and XVII, the Buddha appears in some places to have worn an *uttarāsanga*[10] and in others a *sanghātī* [11]

Several modes of hair-dressing and coiffure are noticed in these paintings In the frescoes in Caves XVI and XVII, men nowhere appear with a turban such as is seen in the earlier frescoes at Ajantā The ruling princes are marked by a high jewelled diadem [12] Sometimes a single golden band worn across the forehead served to distinguish a royal personage Others such as ministers, royal officers and common men generally wore their hair loose, which fell on their back, neck or chest Some wore a cotton or silken band

---

[1] *Priyadarśikā,* Act II, v 7
[2] *Ajanta,* Part III, Pl LII
[3] *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl XXVI
[4] *Śākuntala,* Act I
[5] *Ajanta* Part III, Pl LXII
[6] *Ibid*, Part III, Pl LXIV
[7] *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl LXIV(a)
[8] *Ibid*, Part III, Pl. LXVI
[9] *Ibid*, Part III, Pl LXIII
[10] *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl. XXXIX.
[11] *Ibid*, Part III, Pl LIII and LXXIV, Part IV, Pl XLI.
[12] *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl XV.

across their forehead, which Bāna also has noticed[1] In the scene in Cave XVII representing the Buddha preaching to a congregation, a person of high social status who is sitting near king Bimbisāra among the audience is shown as wearing such a white silken band, under which his curling hair appears in small clusters[2] Foreigners like the Śakas and Kushāṇas are shown with a conical head-dress or with a low round skull-cap[3] The Brāhmaṇas were marked by a tied tuft of hair on the crown of their head[4] In the school-scene in Cave XVI some of Sidhārtha's companions have a similar tuft of hair[5] Boys generally had clusters of hair called *kākapakshakas* above their ears[6] In some sculptures, Purnabhadra, Pañchika and such other semi-divine beings are shown with a wig-like coiffure[7] Buddhist monks shaved their heads clean, but they do not appear in this manner in Ajantā frescoes. In the scene representing the miracle at Śrāvastī the naked Kshapaṇakas are, however, shown with clean shaven heads,[8] whereas the Buddha, as also sages, wear matted hair

Women dressed their hair in a variety of ways The Ajantā frescoes exhibit a great many exquisite styles of coiffures It is, however, noteworthy that nowhere in the frescoes in Caves XVI and XVII is any lady shown to have covered her head with the hem of her upper garment as Marāthā ladies of noble birth do at present Male and female servants of foreign descent are in some places shown to have worn a conical cap See, for instance, the picture of such a maid servant with rough features who attends on a royal pair in a scene of the *Viśvantara-Jātaka* in Cave XVII She has worn a green jacket and a conical cap with a tuft at the top[9] Again, we do not see women of the age using a veil Only in one picture has Mr Yazdani noticed what appears like a veil In the scene which represents the Buddha preaching to his mother in the Tushita heaven, one of the dēvīs appears to have worn ' an embroidered head-dress to which is attached a veil of white gauze such as is worn by brides in European countries '[10] Everywhere else women appear without a veil as in Mahārāshtra at present

It is, however, noteworthy that women of Vidarbha did not apply a *tilaka* to their forehead in the Vākātaka age as they do at present[11] That this custom was, however, prevalent in some places is clear from Kālidāsa's description in the *Raghuvaṁśa,* XVIII, 44.

Men and women were very fond of jewellery in the Vākātaka age Merchants, middle class people and servants generally appear without jewellery on their person, but kings, princes, high officers, queens and wives of rich people as also their maids are represented with a variety of ornaments As stated before, kings used to wear a high jewelled diadem They also put on jewelled ear-ornaments (*kuṇḍalas*) and necklaces of pearls or gems Their arms were adorned with jewelled armlets (*angadas*), with strings of pearls hanging from them[12]. In his description of the *svayamvara* of Indumatī, Kālidāsa describes how one of the princes who

---

[1] Cf. धोतदुकूलपाटिकापरिवेष्टितमौलि in the *Harshacharita*

[2] *Ajanta*, Part IV, Pl XXXIX

[3] *Loc cit.*

[4] *Ibid* , Part IV, Pl XXIII

[5] *Ibid* , Part III, Pl LXIII

[6] In the *Uttararamacharita*, Bhavabhūti describes Lava as having five *chūdās* of this type.

[7] *Ajanta*, Part IV, Pl LXXV(a)

[8] *Ibid* , Part IV, Pl XLIII (b)

[9] *Ibid.*, Part III, Pl LXVI

[10] *Ibid* , Part IV, p 67, Pl XL (a)

[11] In the paintings of the earlier caves at Ajantā, however, such a *tilaka* is noticed on the forehea of women See *Ajanta*, Part III, Pl. XXIV.

[12] *Ibid* , Part IV, Pl XXXIX

attended it had to extricate his necklace which had got entangled in his armlet[1]. Rich men wore golden wristlets (*kanaka-valayas*). In the *Mēghadūta* Kālidāsa describes how the forearm of the exiled Yaksha, who had become emaciated owing to separation from his beloved, appeared bare by the fall of a golden wristlet[2]. The fingers were adorned with rings. The confusion caused in the *Śākuntala* by the loss of the signet ring of Dushyanta is well known. Rich people wore a many-stringed pearl necklace after the manner of a *yajñopavīta*. The pictures of kings and princes assembled to hear the sermon of the Buddha or that of the flying Indra in Cave XVII[3] give us a fairly clear idea of the jewellery worn by rich men in the Vākātaka age. That boys also wore similar ornaments will be clear from the picture of Rāhula, who goes forth to welcome the Buddha.

Women too put on very varied and beautiful jewellery. In many of the frescoes at Ajantā women are shown with a head-ornament called *lalāṭikā*, one string of which followed the parting line of hair. Bāṇa has described it as ' a *tilaka-maṇi* kissing the *sīmanta* '. This *lalāṭikā* had, in some cases, a cluster of pearls or a round golden disc suspended on the forehead, which gave it the name *chatulā-ṭilaka*[4]. Boys also wore this kind of ornament. See, for instance, the pictures of Yaśōdharā and Rāhula welcoming the Buddha in Ajantā Cave XVI[5]. Some women wore a network of pearls in their hair, which Kālidāsa has mentioned in the *Mēghadūta*, v 65. They also put on pearl-necklaces of one or more strings. In the *Mēghadūta* Kālidāsa mentions a pearl-necklace with a large saphire woven in the middle[6]. Some women used to wear *kanṭhikās* (necklaces) of rubies and emeralds, while others liked those made of gold coins (*nishkas*). Several Indian and Roman coins have been found in excavations, with a hole at the top, which shows that they were worn in such necklaces.

Nowhere in Ajantā frescoes do we notice the nose-ornament now worn by Mahārāshtrian ladies. It had not, evidently, come into vogue in that age. The main ornaments of women then were the *lalāṭikā* in the hair, round ear-rings, jewelled armlets with pearl-strings suspended from them and bracelets of gold. They also wore jewelled girdles called *maṇimēkhalās*. When these girdles were equipped with small bells, they were called *kāñchīs*. Kālidāsa describes how women wearing such a girdle used to attract domestic swans. They also wore anklets, which, however, were not thick like those used by women of North India. The ornaments worn by women of Vidarbha showed a much more refined taste.

Men used a footwear which was tied with straps near the ankle.[7] When they went to fight or hunt, they had a sword suspended from their belt and a dagger fixed in it. The accoutrement of horses such as the saddle, bridle etc. was just as at present,[8] but the stirrups are nowhere noticed. Horses for riding were well decorated. The warrior's quiver of arrows was fastened to the saddle. Foot-soldiers used to tie it on their back. Elephants were adorned with gold ornaments and pearl strings, with large discs suspended on their trunks, but their bodies are nowhere noticed painted as described by Kālidāsa in the *Mēghadūta*, v 19. Nor do we notice a *howdah* on the back of any elephant.

---

[1] *Raghuvamśa*, Canto VI, v 14.

[2] Cf. कनकवलयभ्रंशरिक्तप्रकोष्ठ । *Mēghadūta*, v 2.

[3] Ajanta, Part III, Pl. LXVII.

[4] Cf. सुवर्णशृङ्खलाबद्धो नानारत्नौघमण्डित । ललाटलम्ब्यलकारश्चटुलातिलको मत ॥ Com. on the *Harshacharita*, p. 32.

[5] *Ajanta*, Part IV, Pl. XLI.

[6] *Mēghadūta*, v 48.

[7] *Ajanta*, Part III, Pl. LXII.

[8] *Ibid.*, Part IV, Pl. LXVIII (b).

Among weapons of war we find swords, spears, daggers, arrows etc. Swords were generally curved in shape, though straight ones sheathed in scabbards are also noticed. The latter were suspended from the girdles of warriors or were tied to the saddles of riding horses Shields were rectangular and curved, though round ones also are noticed in some places

Among household articles we may mention umbrellas which were either rectangular or square. The royal umbrella held over the heads of kings and queens was, however, round in shape Fly-whisks were like those now in use, but fans were rectangular and elongated.

Among musical instruments are noticed tabors (*mridangas*), conches, symbals, flutes and lutes with one or more strings The tabor, while being played upon, was suspended from the neck

Among animals we notice elephants, horses, cows, bullocks, tigers, lions, deer, monkeys, and dogs The camel is, however, nowhere seen Among aquatic animals we find the fish, the tortoise and the crocodile painted Other animals have not been painted evidently for want of occasion

CHAPTER X

LITERATURE

IT is well-known that in the fourth and fifth centuries A C Sanskrit literature flourished as it had never done before This was no doubt mainly due to the liberal patronage which the Gupta kings extended to Sanskrit authors at their court Some of these kings were poets of no mean order From the Allāhābād stone pillar inscription we learn that the great Gupta Emperor Samudragupta had obtained the title of *Kavirāja*, ' King of poets ', by his several poetical compositions which even learned men found fit to draw upon [1] His son Chandragupta II—Vikramāditya was probably the author of several *subhāshitas* current under the name of Vikramāditya, collected in some Sanskrit anthologies [2] According to a tradition recorded by Rājaśēkhara, he submitted himself to a test in the assembly of learned men at Ujjayinī [3] When kings themselves took such an active interest in poetry, it is no wonder that their officers and subjects also did likewise [4] Some of the officers of the Guptas are known to have been poets Besides Harishēna, the famous author of the Allāhābād *praśasti* of Samudragupta, who held the high offices of *Sāndhivigrahika*, *Kumārāmātya* and *Mahā-daṇḍanāyaka* during the reign of Samudragupta, we know of Śāba of the Kautsa *gōtra*, the *Sāndhivigrahika* of Chandragupta II, who is described as the poet of Pātaliputra in the Udayagiri cave inscription Several other princes and officers must have similarly distinguished themselves in that age by their practice of the poetic art

This state of things was not, however, confined to the north In the south also poetry as well as other fine arts flourished at the Vākātaka court The first thing that strikes us is that almost all Vākātaka grants are throughout written in Sanskrit The only exception is the Bāsim grant of Vindhyaśakti II, but in this case also the genealogical portion is in Sanskrit This grant shows how Sanskrit began gradually to supplant Prakrit in the drafting of royal charters Most of the Vākātaka grants are written in prose and in a matter-of-fact manner, and are therefore wholly devoid of poetic embellishment This does not however, indicate that the Vākātakas took no interest in Sanskrit poetry From the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* of Śrīdharadāsa we know of a *subhāshita* composed by *Yuvarāja* Divākarasēna who is probably identical with the homonymous boy-prince for whom Prabhāvatīguptā was acting as a regent [6] Some other *subhāshitas* are ascribed to Pravarasēna Several good Sanskrit *kāvyas* must have been written in that age in Vidarbha under the liberal patronage of the Vākātakas, though they have now passed into oblivion; for, otherwise, early rhetoricians like Dandin would not have regarded Vaidarbhī as the best style of Sanskrit poetry, and Kālidāsa, the poet of Mālava, would not have adopted it for the composition of his works [7]

---

[1] *C I I*, Vol III, p 8 Fleet's translation of *vidvaj-jan-opajīvyamāna-kāvya-kriyābhiḥ* as ' by various poetical compositions that were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned men' is evidently incorrect.

[2] *Kavīndravachanasamuchchaya*, ed by F W Thomas, Introd., pp 160 f

[3] Rājaśēkhara, *Kāvyamīmāmsā* (G O S , first ed), pp 105 f

[4] Cf राजनि कवौ सर्वो लोक कवि स्यात् । *Ibid* , p 54

[5] *C I I* , Vol III, p 35.

[6] *Saduktikarnāmrita* (ed by H D Sharma), II, 31, 4

[7] That Kālidāsa composed his works in the *Vaidarbhī rīti* is well known Cf लिप्ता मधुद्रवेणासन् यस्य निर्विषया गिर । तेनेद वर्त्म वैदर्भं कालिदासेन शोधितम् ॥ *Avantisundarīkathā*, p 2

One of Kālidāsa's works, the lovely lyric *Mēghadūta*, may be regarded as a *kāvya* of Vidarbha, since it was probably composed during the great poet's sojourn at the Vākāṭaka court The subject matter of the *kāvya* is the message which a *yaksha*, exiled from Alakā because of dereliction of duty, sends by a cloud-messenger to his beloved at the approach of the rainy season The *yaksha* gives a graphic description of the places, mountains and rivers on the route of the cloud from Rāmagiri, where he was staying, to his home in Alakā As I have shown elsewhere,[1] this Rāmagiri is undoubtedly modern Rāmtēk, 28 miles from Nāgpur, which has maintained its reputation as a holy place to this day Several grant of the Vākātakas were made at the temple of Rāmchandra, called Rāmagiri-svāmin,[2] or that hill As Rāmagiri was only about three miles from the then Vākātaka capital Nandi vardhana, Kālidāsa must have visited it many times It was evidently at this place tha the theme of the *Mēghadūta* suggested itself to him. This *kāvya* composed in Vidarbha ha evoked unstinted praise from all critics " It is difficult to praise too highly," says Keith " either the brilliance of the description of the cloud's progress or the pathos of the pictur of the wife, sorrowful and alone Indian criticism has ranked it highest among Kālidāsa' poems for brevity of expression, richness of content and power to elicit sentiment, and th praise is not undeserved "[3]

As stated before, the inscriptions of the Vākātaka kings are in prose, but those c their ministers and feudatories are either wholly or partly in verse They are composed i a lucid style and are, in many places, embellished with figures of word and sense [4] Som of their verses would be good illustrations of the Vaidarbhī style

Prakrit poetry also received a fresh impetus during the enlightened regime of th Vākātaka kings. These kings were not only patrons of learned men, but also authors of excellen Prakrit *kāvyas* and *subhāshitas* Of these the earliest is Sarvasēna, the founder of the Vatsa gulma branch, who composed the Prakrit *kāvya Harivijaya* Sarvasēna had indeed long bee known as the author of this Prakrit *kāvya* from the references to him in the works of Ānand vardhana, Hēmachandra and other rhetoricians, but that he was a king became known on from a mutilated verse[5] in the fragmentary *Avantisundarīkathā*, to which I drew attentic recently History knows of only one king of this name, *viz* , he who founded the Vatsaguln branch of the Vākātaka dynasty He must therefore have been the author of this *kāvy*

The *Harivijaya* is not now extant, but we can form a fair idea about its theme, natur *etc* from the quotations and references in the works of later rhetoricians In the *Dhvanyālō* Ānandavardhana states that Sarvasēna had altered the original story and introduced son imaginary incidents in it in order to make it suitable for the delineation of the intend sentiment [6] Ānandavardhana does not state what the story was, but here his commentat Abhinavagupta comes to our help. He states that the *Harivijaya* had for its theme t removal of the Pārijāta tree from heaven, which was done by Krishna for the appeaseme of his wife (evidently Satyabhāmā) [7] Elsewhere Ānandavardhana cites a Prakrit ve from the *Harivijaya*, which shows that the work was written in the Māhārāshtrī dialect.

[1] *S I*, Vol I, pp 12 f

[2] No 8, line 1

[3] Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 86

[4] See Nos 25, 26 and 27. It was the use of *yamakas* in the inscription in cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā t enabled me to restore the mutilated name of Sarvasēna in line 6.

[5] Cf राज्ञा श्रीसर्वसेनेन . । . . . विजय हरे ॥ *Avantisundarīkatha*, p. 2

[6] As the *kāvya* has not come down to us, it is not possible to specify the incidents added by Sarvasē but one of them may have been the sending of Sātyaki as a *nisrishtārtha-dūta* to Indra. See below, p.

[7] See *Dhvanyālōka* (Nirnayasāgar ed.), p 148.

[8] *Ibid*, p 127

Some other Prakrit verses in the *Dhvanyālōka* appear to have been taken from the same work, though this has not been explicitly stated by Ānandavardhana [1]

The next writer who mentions Sarvasēna is Kuntaka, the famous author of the *Vakrōktijīvita* He classes Sarvasēna with Kālidāsa among writers of the *sukumāra-mārga* (elegant style) [2] Bhōja, the author of the *Sarasvatīkanṭhābharana*, cites two Prakrit verses, which from their contents appear to have been taken from the *Harivijaya* The first of these states why Satyabhāmā alone in the midst of the other wives of Krishna got enraged by humiliation (when the Pārijāta flowers obtained from heaven were presented by Kṛishna to Rukminī). The second verse seems to have been addressed by Krishna to Satyabhāmā Says he, " If I had appeased you, who had become enraged by (the presentation of) flowers (to Rukminī), by offering the same flowers to you, it would not have been in keeping with either my love for you or my offence against you (Hence I am honouring you with the gift of the Pārijāta tree itself)" In his other work *Sṛingāraprakāśa* also Bhōja cites several verses from the *Harivijaya* Thus in the *prakāśas* xxii-xxiv, which have been published, as many as six verses have been quoted from that *kāvya* as stated by the editor in the Index of Prakrit verses of those chapters. Several more verses must have been cited in other chapters which are still unpublished

Hēmachandra,[3] the Jain polymath, has referred to the *Harivijaya* in several places in his *vivriti* on the *Alankārachūḍāmani*, which gives us several bits of interesting information. For instance, he tells us that like the *Sētubandha*, the *Harivijaya* was throughout written in one metre (*viz*, *Skandhaka*) and that the verses in the *Galitaka* metre found therein were later interpolations The last verse of each canto contained the word *utsāha*, just as that in the *āśvāsas* of the *Sētubandha* contains *anurāga* Its theme, as stated above, was the forcible removal of the Pārijāta tree by subduing Indra for the appeasement of Satyabhāmā It seems that Krishna had at first sent Sātyaki as a *nisṛishtārtha-dūta*, i.e as a Commissioner invested with full powers of negotiation Like other *mahākāvyas* it contained the description of the city (Dvārakā), the hero (Krishna), the season spring, sunset, horses, elephants, drinking parties and so forth. Ultimately, Kṛishna invaded heaven, vanquished Indra and forced him to part with the celestial tree Pārijāta, which he presented to Satyabhāmā to appease her anger

The *Harivijaya* is probably the earliest Prakrit *kāvya* known so far [4] It fully conforms to the norm of the *mahākāvyas* and seems to have served as a model for the Sanskrit and Prakrit *kāvyas* of Kālidāsa and Pravarasēna II, who flourished in a later age It seems to have been current in India down to the twelfth century A C , for, Dandin (7th cen.), Ānandavardhana (9th cen), Kuntaka (10th cen), Bhōja (11th cen), Abhinavagupta (11th cen) and Hēmachandra (12th cen.) either refer to Sarvasēna by name or cite verses referring to incidents in that *kāvya* I have not seen references to it in later works and no manuscripts of it are known to exist anywhere

Sarvasēna seems to have composed some Prakrit *gāthās* also Gangādharabhatta, whose commentary has been published in the Nirnayasāgar edition of the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, does

---

[1] For instance the verse *sajjei surahi-māso*, etc , which has been cited in more than one place (*ibid.*, pp. 106, 236 etc.) as descriptive of the vernal season, is also probably taken from the *Harivijaya*, which, as shown below, did contain a description of that season

[2] Cf सहजसौकुमार्यसुभगानि कालिदाससर्वसेनादीना काव्यानि लक्ष्यन्ते । *Vakroktijīvita*, p 71.

[3] See Hēmachandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana*, ed by Rasik Lal, pp. 457 f.

[4] The *Paumachariu* of Vimalasūri was, according to a statement in that work, composed in the year 530 after the Nirvāna of Mahavīra *i e.* in 64 A.C , but this date is regarded as doubtful. Prof. Jacobi places the *kāvya* ' in the third century A C or somewhat later.'

not name Sarvasēna among the known authors of the *gāthās*, but, as Weber has shown, another commentator Bhuvanapāla ascribes two verses, *viz.*, 217 and 234 to him. Pītāmbara, a third commentator, whose commentary on the *gāthās* has been published recently, mentions Sarvasēna's name in connection with two more verses, *viz.* 504 and 505. The attribution of these *gāthās* to Sarvasēna furnishes additional evidence for the identification of that author with the homonymous king who ruled over Southern Vidarbha.

During the reign of Sarvasēna and his successors, Vatsagulma appears to have become a centre of learning, and the Prakrit *kāvyas* and *subhāshitas* composed there evolved a style called Vachchhōmī (Vātsagulmī), which became a synonym of Vaidarbhī. Rājaśēkhara mentions Vachchhōmī in this sense in the opening verse of his *Karpūramañjarī*.

Like Sarvasēna, Pravarasēna II of the Senior branch of the Vākātaka family distinguished himself by the composition of Prakrit poetry. He is the reputed author of the Prakrit *kāvya Sētubandha*, also called *Rāvaṇavaho*, in the Mahārāshtrī Prakrit. According to some scholars[1] this Pravarasēna was Pravarasēna II of Kāśhmīr, and the *kāvya* was composed to commemorate a bridge of boats constructed across the river Vitastā. This theory is, however, untenable, for, the *Rājataranginī*, which mentions the construction of the bridge, makes no reference to this *kāvya*.[2] Rāmadāsa, a commentator of the *kāvya*, has, on the other hand, recorded the tradition that the work was actually composed by Kālidāsa, who ascribed it to Pravarasēna by the order of Vikramāditya. This tradition can be satisfactorily explained only if this Pravarasēna is identified with Pravarasēna II of the Vākāṭaka family, for, the latter was the daughter's son of Chandragupta II–Vikramāditya. We have seen above that Kālidāsa, who enjoyed the patronage of Chandragupta II, probably stayed at the Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana for some time, and while there, composed his *Mēghadūta*, which mentions the holy place Rāmagiri, situated not far from that capital. It is therefore not unlikely that he helped his patron's daughter's son Pravarasēna II in composing the *kāvya* during his sojourn in Vidarbha. This explains also the tradition[3] preserved by Rāmadāsa that Pravarasēna was called Bhōjadēva, for, Bhōja was the name of the ancient dynasty of Vidarbha. Verse 9 of the first canto of *Sētubandha* states that the work was commenced by Pravarasēna soon after his accession and that he occasionally found it difficult to carry it on.[4] On such occasions he must have received help from Kālidāsa, which is recorded in the aforementioned tradition as well as in the colophons of the cantos of the Prakrit *kāvya*.

The *Sētubandha* has for its theme the epic story of Rāma from his advance against Rāvaṇa and the building of a bridge of stone to Lankā to his return to Ayōdhyā after the extermination of the demon king. The work is divided into fifteen cantos called *āśvāsas*, and contains 1362 verses. The prevailing metre is *Skandhaka*, but verses in other metres also are interspersed in the middle and also added at the end of each canto.

The *Setubandha* is composed in an artistic style considered suitable for a *mahākāvya*, with the use of puns and long compounds. It was plainly written for a public which was well versed in Sanskrit, and contains a description of all the topics considered essential in a Sanskrit *mahākāvya*. It has been highly praised by Sanskrit poets and rhetoricians. Bāṇa says in his *Harshacharita* that by means of this *Sētu* (i.e. *Sētubandha*) the fame of Pravarasēna crossed the ocean, as the army of monkeys had done before by means of the bridge (of Rāma).

---

[1] Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 331-32, Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 132 f.
[2] *Rājataranginī*, III, 354.
[3] *Sētubandha*, I, 9.
[4] Cf. अहिणवाआरद्धा चुक्कक्खलिएसु विहडिअपरिट्ठविआ । मेत्तिव्व पमुहरमिआ णिव्वोढु होइ दुक्कर कव्वकहा ॥

Ānandavardhana, the famous critic of the 9th century A C, bestows high praise on the section of the *kāvya* which describes how Sītā was overwhelmed with grief at the sight of the illusory head of Rāma [1]

Pravarasēna II wrote, besides this *kāvya*, stray Prakrit verses, some of which have been preserved in the aforementioned Prakrit anthology *Gāthāsaptaśatī* The index of the *gāthās* in the Nirnayasāgar edition of this work ascribes five verses *viz* 45, 64, 202, 208, and 216 to Pravarasēna, and Pītāmbara adds two more to them, *viz*, 481 and 565 [2] Further, Bhuvanapāla mentions Pravara, Pravararāja or Pravarasēna as the author of the following *gāthās* — 46, 126, 158, 203, 209, 321, 341, 567, 734 This Pravarasēna or Pravararāja can be none other than the Vākātaka Pravarasēna II, the reputed author of the *Sētubandha*

It may *prima facie* seem strange that these *gāthās* of the Vākātaka princes Sarvasēna and Pravarasēna II should be included in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, traditionally ascribed to the Sātavāhana king Hāla, who flourished more than three centuries earlier We should, however, remember, that the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* has not come down to us in its original form As Weber pointed out long ago, the work has undergone six or seven recensions Only 430 verses are common to all recensions They may have been the original kernel of the anthology Several additions and omissions appear to have been made in it from time to time As I have shown elsewhere, it contains some *gāthās* of Vākpatirāja, who was a junior contemporary of Bhavabhūti and therefore flourished nearly three centuries after Pravarasēna II It should therefore cause no surprise if some *gāthās* of the aforementioned Vākātaka princes are found included in it

The existence, in the *Saptaśatī*, of several *gāthās* composed by the two Vākātaka kings Sarvasēna and Pravarasēna II, raises the interesting question whether that anthology contains any other *gāthās* composed by other Vākātaka princes We now possess complete lists of the princes of the Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma branches of the Vākātaka dynasty None of these except Sarvasēna and Pravarasēna (II) figure in the list of the authors of verses of the *Saptaśatī* But there were two other branches of the family ruling perhaps in Kuntala and Dakshina Kōsala They had no doubt a short life of about 50 years (*circa* 330-380 A C), but they must have produced some princes As the names of the members of the Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma branches invariably end in *sēna*, the names of these princes also may have ended in *sēna* The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* mentions five such names *viz* Jayasēna (v 170), Makarandasēna (vv 6, 80, 90), Satyasēna (vv. 233, and 298), Mallasēna (v 237) and Vasantasēna (v 323) The conjecture may therefore be hazarded that some of these poets, if not all, belonged to the Vākāṭaka family Its corroboration will have to be left to future research

Besides the *Sētubandha* of Pravarasēna II, there was another work called *Sētu* which also was probably produced in the Vākātaka age The *Avantisundarīkathā* has the following verse in its introductory portion eulogising early Sanskrit and Prakrit poets —

सेतुरूपेण तिष्ठन्तो लोके सद्वस्तुदर्शिनः ।
षट्पञ्चाशत् प्रमाणत्व गता न कविपुङ्गवाः ॥

This verse mentions fifty-six poets, who are described as *kavi-pungava* 'eminent poets' They had an insight into the real nature of things and attained the position of authority in their own sphere Another piece of interesting information that this verse gives is that these

---

[1] *Dhvanyālōka* (Nirnayasāgar ed, 1911), p 148. Ānandavardhana says that the figures of sense (*arthālankāras*) vie with one another in pressing themselves on the attention of the author while his mind was engrossed in describing the pathetic scene

[2] The numbers of *gāthās* cited here refer to those in the Nirnayasāgar edition, of the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*.

poets, though dead, continued to live in this world in the form of *Sētu*. This was therefore the name of their work which was quite well known in the time of Daṇḍin.

The poets and works eulogised in the introductory verses of the *Avantisundarīkathā* appear to have been mentioned in the chronological order. The aforementioned verse about the *Sētu* occurs immediately after that describing Sarvasēna's *Harivijaya* and before another eulogising Kālidāsa. This work therefore appears to have been produced in the Vākāṭaka age. Since it was composed by fifty-six poets, it could not have been identical with the *Sētubandha* of Pravarasena II. Curious as it might appear, we have a similar name *viz.*, Chhappannaya (Sanskrit, Shatpañchāśat) mentioned among those of Prakrit poets in the following verse of the *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotanasūri (778 A.C.)[1].—

पालित्तयसालाहणछप्पण्णयसीहनायसद्देण ।
सखुद्धमुद्धसारंग उव्व कह ता पय देमि ॥

'How can I take any steps, being, like a simple deer, terrified by the roar of the lions, viz., Pālittaya, Sālāhana and Chhappannaya?'

This verse speaks of three poets Pālittaya, Sālāhana and Chhappannaya. Pālittaya (or Pādalipta) and Hāla are well-known Prakrit poets. Like them, Chhappannaya also was probably a Prakrit poet. The *Kuvalayamālā* eulogises him as follows:—

छप्पण्णयाण किं वा भन्नइ कयकुजराण भुवणम्मि ।
अन्नो वि छेयभणिओ अज्ज वि उवमिज्जए जेंहि ॥

'What need be said about the Chhappaṇṇayas, the eminent poets, with whom even now a poet of clever sayings is compared in this world!'

The first thing that strikes us in this eulogy is that Uddyotana has used the plural number in praising Chhappannaya. That this is not for the purpose of showing respect to the poet appears clear from other verses in which Uddyōtana has used the singular in referring to such great poets as Pālittaya, Hāla, Bāṇa, Dēvagupta, nay his own teacher Haribhadra. Chhappannaya, which means fifty-six, was therefore probably the name of a group of poets. These fifty-six poets probably formed a *Kavi-maṇḍala* and published a work under their collective name.

As stated before, this *Sētu* could not have been identical with the *Sētubandha*. The latter is a Prakrit *kāvya* of the same type as the *Kumārasambhava*, *Kirātārjunīya* and *Siśupālavadha*. Its several cantos have a unity of purpose and a uniformity of style such as one can hardly expect in a heterogeneous work composed by as many as fifty-six poets. Besides, none of the later writers who have referred to it have even hinted that it was a compilation of verses composed by several poets. There must therefore have been another work named *Sētu*, which was of the type of an anthology. This is also suggested by the eulogy of Uddyōtana. He says that the fifty-six poets were famous for clever sayings (*Chhēka-bhaṇitas*) so much so that they became the standards of comparison for later poets. Their verses were probably of the same type as the Sanskrit *subhāshitas*, in which by means of a few strokes they depicted an interesting situation.

It is not unlikely that there was such an anthology in the Vākāṭaka age. As we have seen, the Vākāṭaka princes Sarvasēna and Pravarasēna II composed *gāthās* which were later incorporated into the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. Several other poets, not known to history, whose *gāthās* are included in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, must have flourished in the same age. It should therefore cause no surprise if a compilation of such *gāthās* was made in that age under the name of *Sētu*. The anthology seems to have become current as the work of fifty-six poets who

[1] See C. D. Dalal's Notes to his edition of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (G.O.S.)

contributed to it, and by its excellence became the standard by which the work of subsequent poets was judged When the anthology went out of vogue in later times, some of its verses seem to have been incorporated into the earlier anthology of Hāla This appears to be the only satisfactory explanation of the statements of Dandin and Uddyōtanasūri regarding the fifty-six poets and their work *Sētu*

ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
TIRUPATI
No.
Date
S. V. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

CHAPTER XI

ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

IN architecture, sculpture and painting the achievements of the Vākāṭaka age were as outstanding as in literature There were several temples erected in that age, some of which are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Vākātakas such as the *Dharma-sthāna* at Chikamburi, the temple of Pravarēśvara which gave its name to the territorial division Pravarēśvara-shadvimśati-vātaka, the temple of Rāmagirisvāmin on Rāmagiri (modern Rāmtēk) and the temple of Mahāpurusha (Vishṇu) in Aśvatthakhētaka (modern Pattan) Besides, there was a beautiful temple of Rāmachandra built by Pravarasēna II at his new capital Pravarapura, evidently at the instance of his mother Prabhāvatīguptā But none of these structures is now extant There is indeed a temple of Rāmachandra on the hill near Rāmtēk, but it has not retained its original shape As the territory under the rule of the Vākātakas has not yet been thoroughly surveyed, we have no knowledge of the remains of the structures of that age if any still exist The only place where we find some remnants is the hill at Rāmtēk. On a spur of that hill north-east of the Varāha Gate, there are still some remains of an ancient building which may go back to the Vākātaka age There seems to have been a large structure erected at this place, but of it only a small *mandapa* open on all sides is what now remains As in the case of the Gupta temples, it has a flat roof supported by six pillars, four of which are decorated with the lotus motif We have no knowledge of the image installed in this temple, but it seems to have been some incarnation of Vishnu, for, there is still by its side what appears to have been originally a beautiful image of Trivikrama,[1] now sadly mutilated. The god has a crown on his head, with a halo round his face He wears the *kuṇdalas* on his ears and a pearl-necklace with a large pendant round his neck His *vaijayantī* garland is shown falling on both his legs He wears an *udarabandha* His lower garment, which is fastened at the waist with a girdle, hangs down in folds in front His arms are now broken on both the sides, but their jewelled *angadas*, (armlets) can still be seen His left foot is planted on the ground, while the right foot, which was raised to measure the sky, is now broken at the knee The pose shows his determination to rescue the three worlds from the demon king Bali The latter is standing in the *tribhanga* pose at the god's feet in an attitude of reverence. The image of his queen who was standing by his side is now very much mutilated In its original condition this panel must undoubtedly have been reckoned among the best products of the Vākātaka age

As stated before, there was a temple of Rāmachandra at Pravarapura, modern Pavnār near Wardhā It was decorated with several panels, some of which were discovered from time to time while digging in the fields round Śrī Vinōbāji's *āśrama* on the left bank of the river Dhām As these sculptures were not seen by any archaeologists, their importance was not realised for several years When I visited the place in 1949, they attracted my attention at once I photographed them and brought them to the notice of scholars at the fifteenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Bombay in that year. Later, some more panels were discovered at the same place I have described them elsewhere [2] Here I shall take up some of the important ones

---

[1] See Plate A

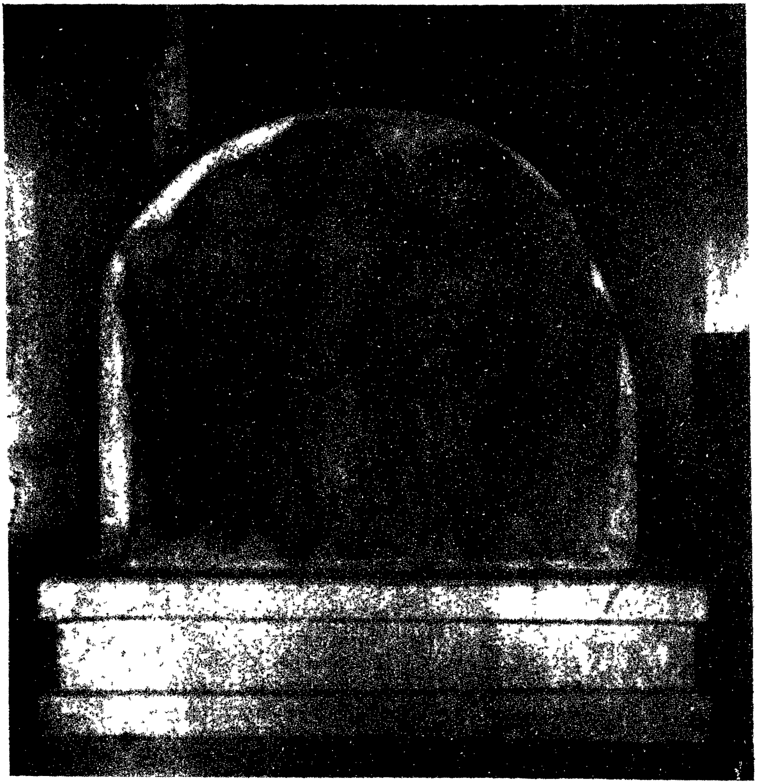
[2] *Sarūpa-Bhāratī*, pp 271 f, *SI*, Vol II, pp, 272 f.

THE IMAGE OF TRIVIKRAMA FROM RĀMTEK

(from photograph)

PRINTED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES (P L O)

THE PANEL "MEETING OF BHARATA" FROM PAVNĀR



(from photograph)

Reg No 3977 E 36—1103'63

Printed at the Survey of India Offices (P

One of these panels is now housed in a small hut erected for the purpose near the *āśrama* It is 3′ 8″ by 3′ 5″ in size and is named *Bharata-bhēta* (Meeting of Bharata)[1] There are four figures in this panel, *viz* , Sītā, Rāma, Bharata and Lakshmana. One other figure appears by the side of Sītā, but it is partially cut This panel, being more than 1500 years old, is now much worn out; but still the figures are fairly clear Sītā has clasped the arm of Rāma, who is speaking to Bharata He has affectionately placed his left hand on the right palm of Bharata Rama's face has a serene look Bharata, who has slightly bent down his face, appears delighted to meet his revered elder brother Lakshmana, on the other hand, has turned his face away and appears disconsolate All of them are clad only in a lower garment which appears striped as in the frescoes at Ajantā Rāma and Lakshmana wear matted hair Bharata's hair has fallen on both his shoulders All the figures are very well modelled Rāma's body appears graceful and Lakshmana's muscular There is no artificiality seen anywhere in the modelling or pose of any of the figures Naturalness, restraint and simplicity, which are known to be the characteristics of the sculptures of the Gupta age, are noticed in the figures of this panel It must therefore be referred to the Vākātaka-Gupta age

This panel is rightly named *Bharata-bhēṭa* by Śhrī Vinōbā, but this meeting of Rāma and Bharata is not the one which took place at Nandigrāma after Rāma's return from Lankā It is the earlier one which occurred at Chitrakūta. We know from Vālmiki's *Rāmāyana* that Bharata, on his return to Ayōdhyā, came to know of the exile of Rāma and the death of Daśaratha He at once decided to bring Rāma back, and for that purpose started in search of him, accompanied by his ministers and army as well as the people of Ayōdhyā Rāma was then staying at the Chitrakūta hill When he noticed a large cloud of dust in the distance, he asked Lakshmana to find out the cause of it. The latter climbed a tree, and from the banner marked by the *kōvidāra* tree, he inferred that Bharata was coming towards them. He suspected that Bharata's object in coming with a large army was to do away with them and thus to get the throne permanently Rāma could, however, guess the real purpose of Bharata's visit He tried to disabuse Lakshmana's mind of that suspicion by telling him that Bharata must be coming there to take them back to Ayōdhyā But Lakshmana was not convinced [2] This attitude of Lakshmana's mind is skilfully shown by the sculptor in the present panels While Rāma and Bharata are engaged in a heart-to-heart talk, Lakshmana is looking in the opposite direction Indifference, if not positive hostility, is imprinted on his face.

This panel, the interpretation of which is quite certain, affords a key to the understanding of the other panels found near the *āśrama* It shows that the temple to which it was affixed must have been dedicated to Rāma The other panels also must, evidently, have been related to some incident or other in the life of Rāma And this is what we actually find to be the case, for, some of the other panels portray such events as the birth of Rāma, the death of Daśaratha, the departure of Rāma and others to the forest, the fight of Sugrīva and Vālin, etc Most of these are now sadly mutilated But there remains one which is fairly intact

This panel,[3] 4′ 4″ by 2′ 11″ in size, portrays the scene when, in the course of the fighting between Sugrīva and Vālin, the latter fell down, being hit by an arrow of Rāma, who, together with Lakshmana and Hanumān, had concealed himself behind some palm

[1] See Plate B
[2] *Rāmāyana*, IV, 17, 35-43, 18, 6-7, 18, 21.
[3] See Plate C

trees When Vālin fell down, Rāma, Lakshmana and Hanumān approached him Vālin then rebuked Rāma for attacking him while he was engaged in fighting with another Rāma justified his action on the ground that Vālin deserved the extreme punishment as he had violated his brother's wife in utter disregard of the eternal law of moral conduct[1] This scene is portrayed in the panel It shows four figures Vālin has fallen on the ground With his right hand he is supporting his head which was reeling with the loss of blood caused by the wound He is looking up to accost and rebuke Rāma The latter is seen in the *pratyālīdha* posture, with the left knee advanced and the right leg drawn back His left hand is placed on the forward thigh, while the right hand is holding something He wears a small necklace and has an *udarabandha* and a *kaṭibandha* His body is gracefully modelled He has a haughty demeanour as he flings back the accusation of Vālin and justifies his own action Lakshmana and Sugrīva are standing behind Rāma The trees from behind which Rāma shot his arrow are shown by means of the conventional large flowers in the upper right corner They are of the same type as those in the well-known panel of *Ahalyōddhāra* (Redemption of Ahalyā) in the Gupta temple at Dēogadh in Madhya Pradesh[2] This beautiful panel undoubtedly belongs to the Vākāṭaka-Gupta age

The conjecture about the erection of a temple dedicated to Rāma by Pravarasena II at his new capital Pravarapura, which was made by me several years ago, was based only on the evidence of these panels and was not substantiated by any inscription That evidence has now become available unexpectedly Recently, while digging in the courtyard of Vinōbāji's *āśrama*, the image of a female deity, about 6 ft in height, was discovered [3] Originally it was four-armed, but now all the arms are broken The goddess wears several beautifully carved necklaces, a *vaikakshaka*, an exquisitely carved *mekhalā* (girdle) and anklets Her hair is modelled in a coiled fashion which was in vogue in the Gupta-Vākāṭaka age Her face is serene. She is standing on a crocodile, which marks her out as the river goddess Gangā The identification is placed beyond doubt by the inscription carved to the proper right side of her legs, *viz Gangā Bhagavati* (*i e* Goddess Gangā) The characters of the inscription closely resemble those of the Pattan plates of Pravarasēna II and leave no doubt that the image is of the Vākāṭaka age. This find clearly shows that there was a magnificent temple of that age just where Vinōbāji's *āśrama* is now situated.

As stated before, none of the temples built by the Vākāṭakas is now extant, but two shrines erected by their feudatories are still standing, from which we can form a fair idea of the religious buildings of that age

The first of these is at Tigōwā near Bahuribandh in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh Tigōwā is probably a corruption of *Trigrāma* (Three Villages), the other two of the triad being Angōrā and Dēorī It is reported that there was, in ancient times, a large town at Bahuribandh, which had Tigōwā and the other villages as its suburbs There is still at Bahuribandh a colossal statue of the Jaina Tīrthankara Śāntinātha, with an inscription of the reign of the Kalachuri king Gayākarna (11th century A C) on its pedestal,[4] which testifies to the importance of the place in old days When Cunningham visited Tigōwā in 1873-74, he noticed there, besides two Gupta temples, the foundations of as many as thirty-six shrines which had been utterly destroyed by a railway contractor [5]

---

[1] *Rāmāyana*, II, 96, 18, 23-24

[2] *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh* (M A S I , No 70), plate XVI

[3] See Plate D

[4] *C I.I*, Vol IV, pp 309 f

[5] *C A S I*, Vol IX, p 41

THE PANEL "KILLING OF VĀLĪ" FROM PAVNĀR

(i) The Image of Gangā from Pavnār

(ii) The Inscription on the Image of Gangā

Fortunately, there is still at Tigōwā an old temple of the Gupta age in a good state of preservation It possesses all the common characteristics of the early Gupta temples[1] noticed at Sāñchī and Ēran and may therefore be referred to the middle of the fifth century A C Tigōwā lies about 65 miles from Bāndhōgadh, which was probably the capital of the Pāndavavamśī kings of Mēkalā The temple may have been erected during the time of the Pāndavavamśī king Bharatabala, who flourished in *circa* 450 A C As already shown[2], he was a feudatory of the Vākātaka king Narēndrasēna The temple at Tigōwā may therefore be supposed to represent the temple architecture and sculpture of the Vākātaka age [3]

This temple[4] is now dedicated to the goddess Kankālī It measures 12 ft 9 in in length and breadth and has a flat roof In front there is a portico supported on four pillars The middle intercolumniation is 2 ft 9 in, while that on either side is only 2 ft 6 in Such a difference is noticed in the porticos of the early temples at Sāñchī, Udayagiri and Ēran, and is, therefore, supposed to be 'one of the minor marks of the Gupta style' All the four pillars are exactly of the same type with a slight difference in their capitals Each has a plain square base Above this it has an octagonal portion which is beautifully decorated with lotus and other designs The shaft then becomes sixteen-sided and thereafter circular This is surmounted by a fluted bell From each corner of the square portion above the bell a small foliated turnover hangs gracefully down The square capital of each pillar is decorated with two chaitya-window bosses, having the head of a man or a lion peeping through them The upper portion of the capital shows two couchant lions back to back with some tree like the mango or the palm between them The lions at the corners of two adjacent sides have a common face Similar capitals are noticed in the case of the pillars of the Gupta temple at Ēran

The *garbhagṛiha* of this temple measures 8 ft by 7½ ft Its entrance door is decorated with the designs of the custard-apple Immediately above the door-frame there is a line of 7 square bosses, which, though used for decoration here, originally represented the ends of the beams of a wooden structure There is another line of thirteen square bosses just below the roof The architrave over the door frame is extended beyond the jambs of the two sides, below which appear the panels of the river-goddesses, the Gangā on the left and the Yamunā on the right The Gangā[5] is shown in the *tribhanga* posture, standing on a crocodile which is swallowing a human being On her right is standing a female attendant with some offerings which the goddess is touching with her right hand in token of acceptance On her left there is a male chowri-bearer In her left hand the goddess has a fruit of the custard-apple tree which has spread its branches over her head

---

[1] These are thus stated by Cunningham —(i) a flat roof without a spire, (ii) prolongation of the door-lintel beyond the jambs, (iii) statues of the Gangā and Yamunā guarding the entrance door; (iv) pillars with massive capitals, ornamented with two lions back to back with a tree between them; (v) continuation of the architrave of the portico as a moulding all round the building etc *C A S I* Vol. IX, pp 42-43

[2] Above, p xxvi

[3] In later times the territory round Tigōwā was included in the dominion of the Parivrājaka kings. This is indicated by the Bētul plates of Sankshōbha dated in the Gupta year 199 (518 A C), which record the grant of two villages in the *vishaya* of Tripurī (modern Tēwar near Jabalpur). There is no reason to suppose that the Parivrājakas had extended their authority so far to the south as early as 450 A C, to which date the Tigōwā temple may be referred on the evidence of its architecture. In this earlier age the country was probably included in the dominion of the Pāndavavamśīs of Mēkalā, who were feudatories of the Vākātakas

[4] See Plate E

[5] See Plate F

The figure of the goddess is beautifully modelled She has a multi-stringed pearl *lalāṭikā* in her hair, round *kundalas* on the ears, jewel and pearl necklaces, one of which hangs down between her plump breasts, as well as a beautiful *raśanā*, bracelets and anklets A long garland hangs down over her left leg Her face shows perfect grace This is one of the best sculptures of that age

There is a similar panel of the river goddess Yamunā[1] to the right of the entrance door She is standing on a tortoise under a mango tree She has held its branch with her raised left hand and is plucking a fruit with the right She has a male and a female attendant on her right and left respectively Both of them are standing on lotus stalks

This temple at Tigowā has a flat roof and is therefore of an earlier age than the Gupta temple at Dēogadh which had a low piramidal spire The latter is referred to the early part of the sixth century A C[2] The temple at Tigōwā may therefore be dated about the middle of the fifth century A C Some time later its portico was turned into a *maṇḍapa* by closing the opening on both the sides by means of sculptured slabs, and another portico was added in front The latter has now totally disappeared except for a slab on the right with the sculptured image of the Buddha incarnation of Vishnu, which appears to have been added in a still later age

Of the sculptured slabs used to close the opening of the original portico on the left the upper one contains an image of the eight-armed goddess Kālī She holds in her hand a bow, a *pattiśa* and other weapons as also two shields She is surrounded on both the sides by skeleton figures who are praying or making offerings to her The lower panel on the same side shows the four-armed god Vishnu sleeping on the coils of the serpent Śēsha, who has spread his hoods over the god's head The god holds the discus and the conch in his left hands His upper right hand supports his head, while the lower one is in the *abhaya-mudrā* On the lotus which has sprung from his navel sits the god Brahmā Lakshmī, the consort of Vishnu, is shampooing his feet. The upper slab on the right side has another panel of the goddess Kālī, while the lower one shows the Boar incarnation of Vishnu On one of the pillars of the portico there is the following inscription in three lines, *Siddhih Sētabhadra sthāna-sāmānya-bhaṭṭaputra-Umadēvah Karnnakuvja-sanīpah* On the evidence of paleography this inscription appears to be of about the eighth century A C, which may also represent the age when these sculptured slabs were added to close the openings on the two sides of the original portico As stated before, the panel of the Buddha incarnation must have been added in a still later age

Another temple of the Vākātaka age exists at Nachnā in former Vindhya Pradesh[3] Both at Nachnā and Ganj which lies only about two miles to its east, stone inscriptions of Vyāghradēva, a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka king Prithivīshēna II, have been discovered[4] As shown before, this Vyāghradēva is probably identical with the Uchchakalpa prince Vyāghra who flourished in the last quarter of the fifth century A C This territory was, therefore undoubtedly included in the empire of the Vākāṭakas in that period Cunningham found two temples at Nachnā, of which the earlier one, said to be dedicated to the goddess Pārvatī probably belongs to the Vākātaka age[5] The *garbhagriha* has now no image on its pedestal

---

[1] See Plate G

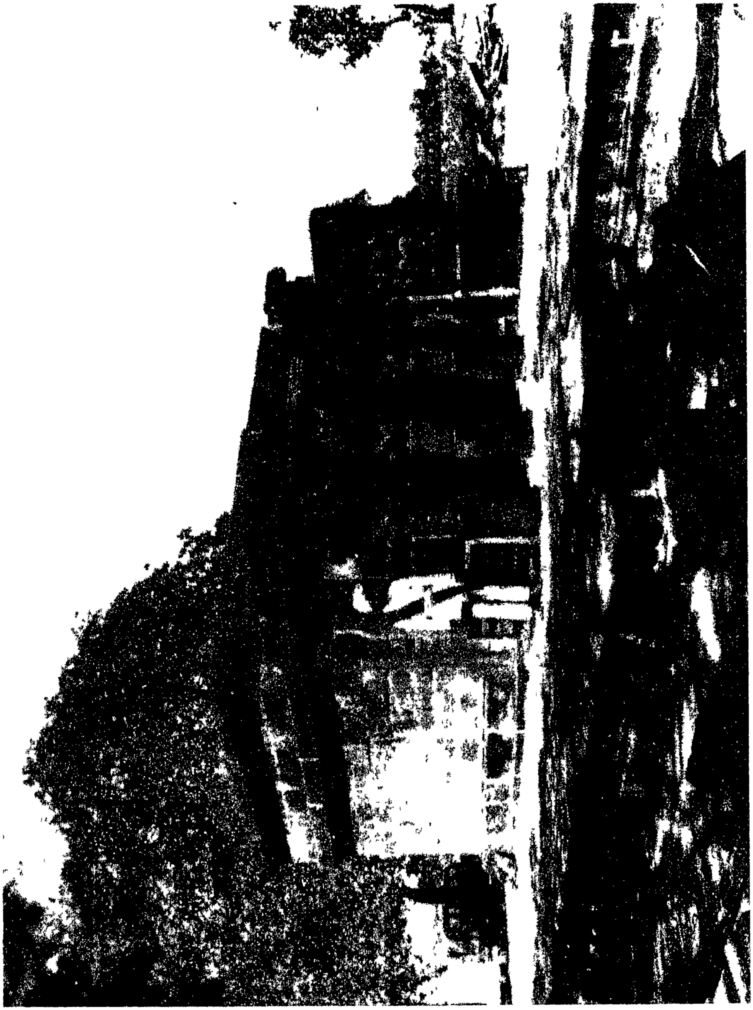
[2] *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh* (M A S I, No 70), p 11

[3] See Plate H

[4] Nos 20-22.

[5] *C A S R*, Vol. XXI, p 96 Banerji thought that this temple was decidedly of the early Gupta period, *i e* 4th-5th century A C *P R.A S I*, *W C* for 1918-19, p 61.

THE TEMPLE AT TIGŌWĀ



(From photograph)

PRINTED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES (P L O)

REG No 3977 E 36—1103 '62

THE IMAGE OF GANGĀ ON THE DOOR-WAY OF THE TEMPLE AT TIGŌWĀ

(from photograph)

3977 E 36—1,103 - 3.

 PLATE G

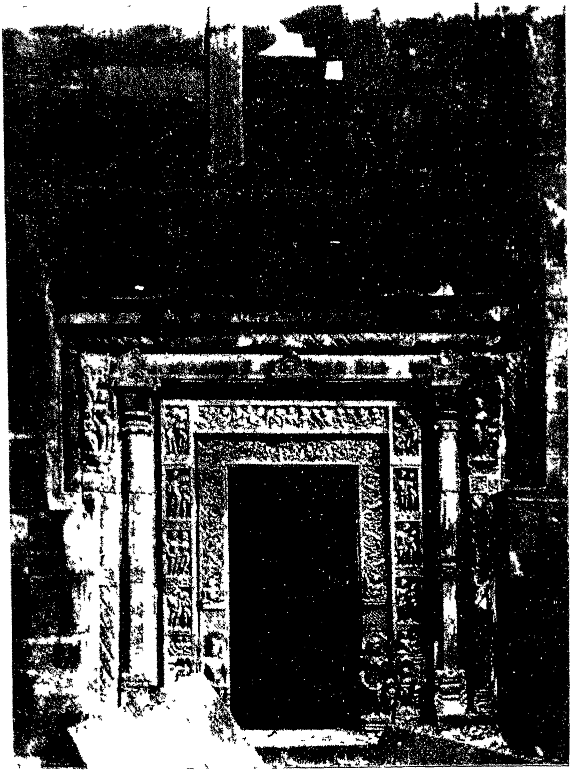
THE IMAGE OF YAMUNĀ ON THE DOOR-WAY OF THE TEMPLE AT TIGŌWĀ

(from photograph)

REG No 3977 E 36 -1103'63

PRINTED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES (P. L. O.)

THE TEMPLE AT NACHNĀ



(from photograph)

Reg No 3977 E 36—1,103 63

Printed at the Survey of India Offices (P L)

This temple also is flat-roofed like that at Tigowā, but it is two-storeyed, the place of the later spire being taken by a small chamber constructed over the *garbhagṛiha* There is no staircase to reach this upper chamber It seems, therefore, to have been intended to indicate the position of the sanctum The roof of this chamber also is flat, clearly showing that there was no *śikhara* over it This chamber, in course of time, developed into the *śikhara*, of which we find the earliest form in the Gupta temple at Dēogadh [1] The temple at Nachnā is thus somewhat later than that at Tigowā, but earlier than the one at Dēogadh It may therefore be referred approximately to the last quarter of the fifth century A C

Another peculiarity of the Pārvatī temple at Nachnā is that it has a covered *pradakshinā-patha* (path of circumambulation) which is not noticed in the earlier Gupta temples at Sāñchi, Ēran and Tigōwā Its *garbhagṛiha* is nearly square in plan, measuring 15 ft 9 in by 15 ft It is surrounded on all sides by a roofed verandah, 5 ft in width, closed by a wall, three ft thick, which serves as a path for circumambulation The front wall has an entrance opposite the door of the *garbhagṛiha* In front of the entrance there is an open unroofed court, nearly 12 ft in length and breadth, which is approached by a flight of steps [2]

The doorway of the *garbhagṛiha* is very richly decorated The door-frame has two bands [3] The inner one has at the bottom a haloed male door-keeper (*pratīhāra*). Above this there is a beautiful scroll of a creeper issuing from the navel of a squatting male figure The outer band has at the bottom the figure of the river goddess Gangā on the left and the Yamunā on the right,[4] above which there are small decorative panels of *mithunas* The pillars outside this door-frame are decorated with horizontal bands of various designs, while the lintel over them has three beautiful chaitya-windows At the end of the lintel on either side there is a large figure of a goddess standing over a lotus and attended by a female 'The figures of this temple', says Cunningham, 'are much superior to all mediaeval sculpture, both in the ease and gracefulness of their attitudes as well as in the real beauty of form '[5]

The upper chamber is quite plain, both inside and outside. It is lighted by means of two chaitya-windows, one in each side wall The *garbhagṛiha* receives its light through two windows of simple square holes fixed in its side walls just opposite the chaitya-windows in the outer walls of the *pradakshinā-patha* The outer faces of the walls are carved to imitate rock-work, lions, bears, peacocks, monkeys, deer, *yakshas*, *gaṇas*, etc. being sculptured here and there in small niches to give them the appearance of caves

The external appearance of the temple at Nachnā shows that its form was imitated from a rock-cut cave In fact the earliest existing shrines in India are in the form of rock-cut *vihāras* and *chaityas* The artists of ancient Vidarbha excelled in this art also Some of the most magnificent caves at Ajantā hewn out of solid rock, which still exist in a fair condition, testify to the skill of the artisans of that age The Vihāra caves XVI and XVII and the Chaitya Cave XIX—all of which belong to the Vākātaka age—are, according to Burgess, both from their architecture and their paintings, as full of beauty and interest as any caves in the West of India [6]

Of these three caves, Cave XVI was excavated by Varāhadēva, who was a minister

---

1 *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh* (M A S I , No 70), p 8

2 See the plan of the temple. *C A S R* , Vol , XXI, pl. XXV

3 See Pl XVI in *P.R A S I* , *W C.* for 1918-19 See also Plate H.

4 These river goddesses appear just below the prolonged lintel of the temple at Tigōwā.

5 *C A S R*, Vol XXI, p 96

6 *C T I*, p 302

of the Vākātaka Emperor Harishēna It is in some respects the most elegant of all caves Its verandah, 65 ft long by 10 ft 8 in wide, has six plain octagonal pillars and two beautifully carved pilasters [1] The hall inside is entered by three doors, of which the middle one is larger than the two side ones There is also a window on each side, between the middle and the side door The pilaster on either side of the main door has the figure of the river goddess Gangā standing on a crocodile

The *mandapa* or hall inside is 66 ft 3 in. long, by 65 ft 3 in deep and 15 ft 3 in high It is supported by twenty pillars, sixteen of which are of plain octagonal shape, while the remaining four—two in the middle of each of the front and back rows—have square bases and change first to 8 and then to 16 sides, with square heads and bracket capitals The front aisle is somewhat longer than the back one Its roof is cut in imitation of beams and rafters, supported by brackets in the form of *kinnaras* and *apsarases* There are six cells on each side, two in the back wall, and one at each end of the verandah There is no antechamber, the *chaitya-mandira* (shrine) being entered from three doors in the back aisle The latter contains a gigantic statue of the Buddha in the *dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā*, sitting in the *pralambapāda* posture on a lion seat He is attended by Vajrapāni on the right and Padmapāni on the left, with *chauris* in their hands There is space for *pradakshiṇā* round the image of the Buddha

The inscription at the left end of the verandah describes this cave in the following words :—[2] 'This dwelling which is adorned with windows, doors, beautiful picture-galleries, ledges, statues of the nymphs of Indra and the like, is ornamented with beautiful pillars and stairs, and has a temple of the Buddha inside' [3] The picture-galleries referred to as *su-vīthi* in this verse covered the walls of the verandah and the hall inside, but many of them have now been very sadly mutilated.

Both Cave XVI and XVII were excavated and decorated with paintings in the same period, *viz*, the reign of the Vākātaka king Harishēna The artists appear to have done the work with a definite plan The paintings in Cave XVI mostly describe the incidents in the last life of the Buddha, while those in Cave XVII generally illustrate the events of his past lives There are indeed a few *Jātaka* scenes depicted in Cave XVI, but they are confined to the walls of its verandah and the front corridor For instance, the story of the *Sutasōma Jātaka*, in which Sutasōma, by his spiritual power, compels the cannibal king Saudāsa to give up his evil habit, is painted on the architrave above the front pillars of the verandah Similarly, the stories of the *Hasti Jātaka*, in which an elephant sacrifices himself in order to save the lives of hungry travellers, and the *Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka*, in which the child Mahōsadha solves difficult riddles, are painted on the walls of the front corridor

The incidents in the life of Gautama Buddha can be divided into two parts, *viz*, (i) those that happened before he turned the Wheel of the Law, *i e*, preached his doctrine in the Deer Park at Sārnāth and (ii) those that occurred subsequent to that event As stated before, the *chaitya-mandira* or *garbhagṛiha* of Cave XVI has an image of the Buddha in the *dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā* It therefore furnishes the dividing point of the paintings in this cave Those on the wall of the right corridor are chronologically arranged, commencing from the scene of Conception [4] In the painting above the first and second cell-doors

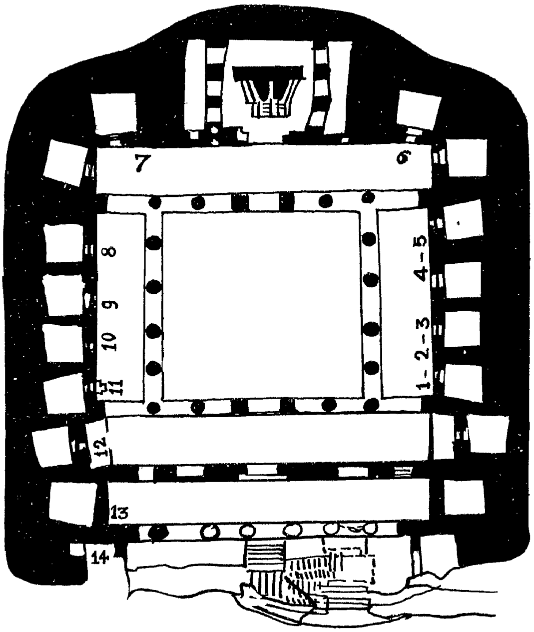
[1] See Plate I

[2] No. 25, v. 24

[3] *Ajanta*, Part III, pp. 44 f

[4] The chronological sequence of the paintings becomes quite evident if we commence at the right end of the right corridor and walk round the hall from right to left It also helps in the interpretation of some of the frescoes In his excellent work *Ajanta* Mr Yazdani has, however, followed the opposite order in describing the paintings of this cave It is, of course, the usual order of *pradakshinā*.

THE PLAN OF CAVE XVI AT AJAṆTĀ



Index of Paintings in Cave XVI at Ajantā
(The Numbers are as in the Plan of the Cave)

1 The Dream of Queen Māyā
2 The Visit of the Sage Asita
3 Siddhārtha at School and his Practice of Archery
4 Scenes from the Life of the Buddha the Four Signs
5 The Offering of Trapusha and Bhallika the Offering of Sujātā
6 The Buddha preaching to the Congregation
7 The Visit of Ajātaśatru to the Buddha
8 Flying Apsarases the Buddha in the teaching attitude
9 The Mānushī Buddhas
10 The Buddha's Visit to Kapilavastu Nanda s Coronation His Conversion
11 Dying Sundarī
12 The Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka
13 The Hasti Jātaka
14 The Buddha preaching in Tushita Heaven

from the right, queen Māyā is shown sleeping on a bed. As the fresco is very much damaged, we notice only one of her feet resting on a round pillow. Two maids are sleeping near her feet. This is evidently the scene in which Māyā saw in a dream a celestial white elephant enter her womb. The roof of the chamber in which she is sleeping is supported on high wooden pillars decorated with horizontal bands at the bottom, in the middle and at the top. The roof is further ornamented with chaitya windows with lotus designs in the centre. To the left of this chamber there is a low gate with a barrel-shaped roof which leads to a circular pavilion where we notice Māyā relating her dream to king Śuddhōdana. Some of her maids are sitting on the ground, eagerly listening to the account. The figure of the maid who is standing nearby is specially graceful.[1]

In the painting on the left we notice the sage Asita holding the infant Siddhārtha in his arms and predicting his future career. To the left of this there is another scene in which we find Siddhārtha taking lessons from his *guru*, with his companions sitting round him. He wears a long coat and a conical cap with a ribbon tied round it. In the scene below we find the prince practising archery. His companions are sitting on low stools, watching his skill.[2]

On the wall between the third and fourth cell doors are painted later events in the life of young Siddhārtha, such as his first meditation during the Ploughing Festival and his seeing the four signs of old age, disease, death and renunciation.[3]

On the wall above the third and fourth cell-doors we notice some events which happened soon after Siddhārtha attained enlightenment, *i.e.* became the Buddha. Two merchants named Trapusha and Bhallika, who saw the Buddha after his trance, made offerings of honey and rice-cakes to him. On the left of this scene we notice the noble lady Sujātā cooking milk-rice for the Buddha and later offering it to him and to four other hermits who were with him.[4]

As the *garbhagriha* has the image of the Buddha in the teaching attitude, the paintings on the walls of the back corridor to the right and left of the doorway appropriately portray the scenes of the Buddha preaching to congregations. The frescoes here are very much damaged, but from what remains of them we can conjecture the occasions. On the left wall the Buddha is shown sitting on a lion seat, with his feet resting on a full-blown large lotus, the stalk of which is held by two Nāga kings who are marked out by the hoods on their heads. He is attended by a Bōdhisattva on either side. Among the congregation are seen on the left several young ladies and a prince sitting in a reverential attitude. He is probably Ajātaśatru, the king Magadha.[5] On the right are noticed some hermits with shaven heads as well as some men and women. On the wall to the right of the doorway there was probably the scene of the Buddha preaching to the gods in the Tushita heaven.

We shall next proceed to describe the paintings on the wall of the left corridor. The frescoes on the right side of the fourth cell door are very much damaged, but the figure of a flying *apsaras* to the right of the Buddha is still in a fairly good condition. She is dressed only in a striped loin cloth (*ardhōruka*). She wears a *lalātikā* with a pendant hanging over her forehead. Her curly hair, dangling *kuṇḍalas*, *ēkāvali* of large pearls, armlets and bracelets are drawn with skill. Her pose shows movement in the air. She is looking

[1] *Ajanta*, Part III, pl. LXII.
[2] *Ibid.*, Part III, pl. LXIII.
[3] *Ajanta*, Part III, pl. LXIII.
[4] *Ibid.*, Part III, pl. LIX.
[5] *Ibid.*, Part III, pl. LVII.

eagerly towards the Buddha Her inward feeling is suggested by the gestures of her hands [1]

The original painting above the third cell door was probably damaged in course of time and was replaced by another containing figures of the Mānushī Buddhas in two rows The lower row has four Buddhas sitting on round seats with cushions behind their back and triple umbrellas over their heads The upper row has seven or eight Buddhas of the same type All of them are in the teaching attitude. The figures appear conventional and may have been drawn by the monks *Bhadanta* Dharmadatta and *Bhadanta* Bappuka whose names are mentioned in the painted records below [2]

The frescoes over the first and second cell-doors of the left corridor as well as those on the left wall of the front corridor narrated the story of the conversion of Nanda, the half-brother of the Buddha The paintings here are very much damaged, but some of the scenes can still be recognised After his enlightenment the Buddha visited Kapilavastu Nanda was then about to be consecrated as heir apparent When the Buddha came to the royal palace he was greeted by his wife Yaśōdharā and son Rāhula The Buddha then met Nanda and handed him his begging bowl Nanda followed him and consented to join the order His head was therefore shaved and he was ordained But he began to pine for his beautiful wife Sundarī So the Buddha took him to heaven and showed him celestial nymphs They were so superior to his wife that he consented to continue in the order for obtaining one of them The story is narrated in the Buddhist canon as well as in the *Saundarananda* of Aśvaghōsha

Some of the incidents in this story such as the visit of the Buddha to Kapilavastu, the consecration of Nanda, his conversion and subsequent pining for his beautiful wife are illustrated in the extant frescoes But the painting which has evoked unstinted praise from art-critics is that of the last incident in this story When Nanda decided to continue in the monastic order, his crown was brought to his wife Sundarī At its sight the latter sank with grief This scene which has long been known as that of ' the dying princess ' is painted in the fresco in the left corridor between the pilaster and the first cell-door [3] Sundarī is sitting on a low seat, her back resting on a round cushion Her drooping head, half-closed eyes and languid limbs indicate the great shock she has received at the sight of the crown brought before her A maid is supporting her from behind lest she might fall down, while the lady who is sitting beside her is looking into her face with a sorrowful gaze, and is holding her wrist as if to feel her pulse Another maid with a *pankhā* who is standing nearby has shown her grief by the contortion of her body as she looks askance at her sinking mistress Behind the pavilion, two other maids are anxiously discussing the condition of the lady The peacock on the top of the pavilion appears also to feel the grief and to share in the anxiety of the maids It has lengthened its neck as if to listen to what the maids outside the pavilion are saying about the condition of its mistress Mr Griffith has paid a well-deserved tribute to this fresco Says he, ' For pathos and sentiment and the unmistakable way of telling its story this picture, I consider, cannot be surpassed in the history of art. The Florentines could have put better drawing, and the Venetians better colour, but neither could have thrown greater expression into it '[4]

A flight of steps leads down from the front of Cave XVI and turns to the left into a

---

[1] *Ajanta*, Part III, pl. LV(c)

[2] *Ibid*, Part III, pp 55 f, 94 f.

[3] *Ajanta* Part III, pl LII The credit of identifying 'the dying princess' with Nanda's wife belongs to Mr G Yazadani The order of the fresco shows that the identification is probably correct.

[4] *C T I*, p 307 See Plate J

Printed at the Survey of India Offices (P L O),
Reg No 3977 E 36—103 62

small excavation, on the back wall of which is carved the figure of a Nāga-rāja, seated on the coils of a serpent, whose hoods spread over his high flat-topped *mukuta* This is probably the dwelling of the Lord of the Nāgas (*Nāgēndra-vēśma*), to which a reference is made in the inscription in Cave XVI [1] As the artisans and painters who excavated and painted the caves at Ajantā belonged to the Nāga race, such images of the Nāga-rāja are found sculptured in the caves there.

As stated before, two other caves at Ajantā, *viz*, the Vihāra Cave XVII and the Chaitya Cave XIX belong to the Vākātaka age They were excavated by a ruler of Rishīka (modern Khāndēsh) who owed allegiance to the Vākātaka Emperor Harishēna His name is unfortunately lost, as his inscription[2] in Cave XVII is now very badly mutilated From the extant portion of it we learn, however, that by the premature death of his younger brother Ravisāmba, this prince became convinced of the transitoriness of worldly existence and so he got these caves excavated and dedicated them to the Buddhist Sangha at Ajantā

Cave XVII, which is of the Vihāra type, generally resembles Cave XVI described before Its verandah in front measures 64 ft in length and 10 ft. in breadth and is supported by six plain octagonal pillars with a pilaster at each end, which is exquisitely carved [3] The hall is entered by a large central door and also by a smaller one at the left end There is a window on the left between the large and the small door and two more on the right, one large and the other small The *maṇḍapa* or Hall inside is 64 ft wide by 62 ft deep and 13 ft high Its roof is supported by twenty pillars, of which sixteen are octagonal and plain, while the remaining four—two middle ones in each of the front and back rows—have square bases with shafts changing into octagonal and sixteen-sided, which are decorated with exquisite carving and painting. Behind the *maṇḍapa* there is an antechamber (*antarāla*), 17 ft 9 in in width and 8 ft 5 in in depth, leading into the *chaitya-mandira* (shrine), which measures 17 ft 9 in in width and 19 ft 6 in in depth The door-frame of the shrine is decorated with three bands, of which the inner and the outer have beautiful scroll work, while the middle one has alternating figures of seated and standing Buddhas On either side of the lintel there is a figure of the river goddess Gangā standing on a crocodile Inside the shrine there is a large image of the Buddha sitting cross-legged in the *Yōgāsana* posture, with his hands in the *Dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā.* He has a halo round his face and his hair is arranged in schematic curls. The lobes of his ears are extended He wears an *antarāvāsaka* or lower garment and a *sankakshikā* which goes over the left and under the right arm At the back of the throne there is a crocodile at the top on either side, from the mouth of which a man is trying to leap out On the front face of the throne are carved two crouching deer with a wheel between them, symbolising the deer-park at Sārnāth, where the Buddha first turned the Wheel of the Law On the proper right side of the Buddha stands Padmapāni and on the left Vajrapāni, both carrying a *chauri* or fly-whisk. There are two more attendants near the throne; that on the right carries the Buddha's begging bowl, while that on the left has something in his hand which is not quite clear. Above, two flying *vidyādharas* are seen—one on each side—carrying offerings to the Buddha [4]

This cave has, in all, eighteen cells—one at each end of the verandah, six in each of

[1] No 25, v. 25
[2] No 27
[3] See Plate K.
[4] *Ajanta*, Part IV, pl. III, (b).

the walls of the right and left corridor, and two on each side of the back door of the hall. It is also provided with a fine cistern of water which is approached by a flight of steps between this cave and Cave XVI. It is specifically mentioned in the inscription[1] at the left end of the verandah

As stated before, this cave was excavated by a prince who was overwhelmed with sorrow at the premature death of his younger brother It is stated in the afore-mentioned inscription that he used to wait upon persons who possessed great learning, liberality, compassion, contentment, friendship, forgiveness, courage and wisdom. It is therefore not surprising that the paintings in the cave excavated by him should illustrate the tales preaching these virtues We have seen above that the frescoes in Cave XVI mostly describe the incidents in the last life of the Buddha This cave contains very few paintings of that type, while it abounds with those describing the past lives of the Buddha, in which one or other of the afore-mentioned virtues was exemplified The paintings may also have been utilised by the monks in illustrating their sermons

Cave XVII contains now more paintings than any other cave at Ajantā, and most of them are in a fairly good condition. It is not possible to describe them all in detail, but we may indicate their position briefly and point out the salient features of a few of them

On the back wall of the verandah to the left of the main door there are some paintings which are supposed to illustrate the *Viśvantara Jātaka*, though there are more and detailed pictures of this *Jātaka* inside the Hall There are indeed some incidents portrayed here which support this identification, *viz*, the distribution of gifts including costly necklaces to suppliants, the exile of a prince and a princess (Viśvantara and Mādrī), the flying Indra, who, according to the story, came to Viśvantara to ask for the gift of his wife, etc The picture of flying Indra, *gandharvas* and *apsarases* is specially noteworthy Indra is fair in complexion and has a noble mien He wears a high crown and beautiful jewelled necklaces, armlets and bracelets His *vaikakshaka* is thrown backward as he flies through the air He wears an *ardhōruka* which is fastened round his waist by means of a beautiful jewelled *katibandha* with a dagger and a sword fixed in it The clouds through which he and his attendants fly are shown by means of white and blue curves and patches This is one of the most fascinating small paintings at Ajanṭā and well illustrates the artist's skill in portraying flying figures[2]

On the back of the verandah, above the two windows to the right of the main door, is painted an incident in the life of the Buddha, in which he calmed a furious elephant named Nālāgiri which was let loose against him in Rājagriha at the instigation of Dēvadatta The infuriated elephant running through the streets of Rājagriha, demolishing wooden structures, lifting up men and animals with its trunk and causing consternation among the people, is vividly portrayed In the next scene it is seen kneeling down meekly before the Buddha, who blesses it with his hand The men and women in the shops and galleries of the houses nearby are filled with amazement and reverentially fold their hands[3] The whole scene is very realistic and testifies to the imagination and skill of the artist

On the left wall of the verandah, above the cell-door, is painted a huge wheel which was supposed to represent the Zodiac and so this cave was called 'the Zodiac Cave' The correct view, however, is that it is the wheel of Samsāra (worldly existence) In

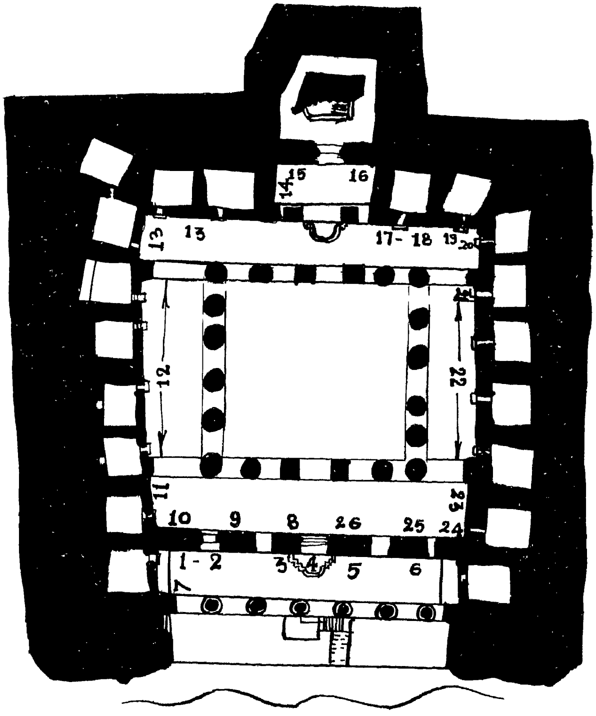
[1] No. 27, v. 26.
[2] *Ajanta*, Part III, pl. LXVII
[3] *Ibid*, Part III, pl. LXXIV.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL V

PLATE K

THE PLAN OF CAVE XVII AT AJANTĀ



Index of Paintings in Cave XVII at Ajantā

(The Numbers are as in the Plan of the Cave)

1 - 2 Scenes from the Viśvantara Jātaka
3 Flying Indra and Apsarases
4 The Mānushī Buddha
5 Gandharvas and Apsarases adoring the Buddha
6 The Taming of the Furious Elephant Nālāgiri
7 The wheel of Samsāra
8 The Shad-danta Jātaka
9 The Mahākapi Jātaka
10 The Hasti Jātaka
11 The Hamsa Jātaka
12 The Viśvantara Jātaka
13 The Sutasōma Jātaka
14 The Buddha preaching in the Tushita Heaven
15 The Buddha, Yaśōdharā and Rāhula
16 The Miracle at Śrāvastī
17 The Śarabha Jātaka
18 The Mātri-pōshaka Jātaka
19 The Matsya Jātaka
20 The Śyāma Jātaka
21 The Mahisha Jātaka
22 The Simhalavadāna
23 The Śibi Jātaka
24 The Mriga Jātaka
25 The Riksha Jātaka
26 The Nyagrōdha-mriga Jātaka

REG No 3977 E'36—1103'62

PRINTED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFF...

GREEDY JŪJAKA RECEIVING RANSOM MONEY

Buddhist as in Hindu literature, worldly existence is conceived as a gigantic wheel which revolves all creatures through a series of life and death [1]

The present wheel was designed to have eight divisions marked by its spokes (*ashtāra-chakra*), but only five of them can be made out, the remaining three not having been completed owing to the position of the cell-door The wheel contains various scenes of village and town life It is shown as revolved by the hands of some being of colossal size, probably representing *Karman*

As stated before, the stories of the past lives of the Buddha are illustrated in the frescoes on the walls of this *mandapa* We find, for instance, the stories of the *Shad-danta Jātaka*, the *Mahākapi Jātaka* and the *Hasti Jātaka* painted on the outer wall of the front corridor inside the Hall to the right of the main entrance,[2] the *Hamsa Jātaka* on the left wall of the same corridor[3] and the *Viśvantara Jātaka*, the *Mahākapi Jātaka* (II) and the *Sutasōma Jātaka* on the wall of the left corridor [4] Some scenes of the *Viśvantara Jātaka* were, of course, painted on the back wall of the verandah, but its whole story could not be narrated there probably for want of space It is, therefore, repeated on the wall of the left corridor from the first to the fourth cell-door The different incidents of the story such as Viśvantara taking leave of his father and mother before proceeding into exile, the departure of the prince and the princess, the giving away of the little children Jālin and Kṛishnājinā to the Brāhmana Jūjaka, and finally, their restoration by the latter to the king, their grandfather, in consideration of a large sum of money paid as ransom, are all painted with great skill The last scene when Jūjaka appears in the royal court to receive the ransom money is specially noteworthy Mr Yazdani has described it in the following words·—'The artist has delineated all the ugly features of Jūjaka—the broken teeth, the goaty beard, the parrot-like nose and small, uncanny eyes, combined with the brightness which has come over his face at the jingle of the money which the royal treasurer is pouring into his outspread scarf The expression of joy may also be perceived from the treatment of his eyes, and the artist has further enhanced it by placing high lights on the nose and lips of the Brāhmana[5] ' The king holds the last coin in his hand which he is apparently throwing into the Brāhmana's scarf with a contemptuous look The artist has shown, with evident humour, the Brāhmana with an open umbrella even when he appears in the royal court

As shown below, the frescoes on the wall of the right corridor also relate *Jātaka* tales. The only paintings which narrate incidents in the last life of the Buddha inside this cave are noticed on the right and left walls of the *antarāla* (antechamber) and those of the *Chaitya-mandira* (sanctum) As stated before, the sanctum contains an image of the Buddha in the teaching attitude The frescoes outside, therefore, fittingly describe the incidents which happened soon after the Buddha turned the Wheel of the Law

On the left wall of the *antarāla* we see a painting in which the Buddha is discoursing upon the Law to his mother and the gods and goddesses of the Tushita Heaven He is next shown to have descended to the world of men by means of a ladder He then preaches the Law to the kings, queens, noblemen and others who have come to see him The Buddha is seated on a throne in the *pralambapāda* posture and *dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā*, with Padmapāni and Vajrapāni attending upon him To his right are Bimbisāra, the

[1] *Ajanta*, Part IV, pl. IV-VI.
[2] *Ibid*, Part IV, plates X-XIV
[3] *Ibid*, Part IV, pl XVII.
[4] *Ibid*, Part IV, pl. XIX-XXXVII
[5] *Ajanta*, Part IV, p 49. See Plate L

king of Magadha, his son Ajātaśatru, his queen and some other chiefs with round or conical head-dresses One of them who has prominent mustaches and a beard and also a conical head-dress may represent a Śaka or Kushāna chief, such as may occasionally have been noticed at the Vākātaka court To the left of the Buddha are several monks, of whom two who are prominent may be identified with Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana The eyes of all are turned towards the Buddha who is expounding the Law The monk next to Sāriputra may be Ānanda, the chief disciple of the Buddha, who, from the gestures of his hand, seems to be answering the questions put to him by the Buddha[1] The artist has been able to paint this great composition with perfect ease and consummate skill

On the back wall of the *antarāla* to the left of the shrine door, there is the well-known painting of the Buddha greeted by his wife and son, Yaśōdharā and Rāhula[2] Having received the intimation that the Buddha has come to Kapilavastu and may visit the palace in the course of the begging round, Yaśōdharā has put on her best garments and ornaments and stands at the door with her son Rāhula, who also is similar dressed, expecting the arrival of the Buddha In the present fresco[3] the Buddha is shown in a very large size, suggestive of his spiritual greatness The figures of Yaśōdharā and Rāhula are purposely drawn much smaller in size as compared with him The Buddha has matted hair on his head and a halo round his face He is clad in a reddish long gown and carries a green begging bowl in his right hand His head is slightly inclined towards Yaśōdharā His face shows philosophic calm, mingled with compassion for Yaśōdharā, whom he finds still attached to worldly life Yaśōdharā has placed Rāhula in front, suggesting thereby that for his sake, if not for hers, the Buddha should come back to the householder's life Rāhula has spread both his hands to ask for his heritage as instructed Both he and Yaśōdharā have fixed their eyes on the Buddha's face, anxiously awaiting to hear what he would say to them A *vidyādhara* has held an umbrella over the Buddha's head and flowers are being showered over him from the sky This painting has evoked highest praise for its sublimity, suggestiveness and skilful delineation of human emotion

On the right wall of the *antarāla* there is a painting of the miracle which the Buddha performed at Śrāvastī at the request of king Bimbisāra[4] Accepting the challenge of some naked śramanas who wanted to cause a schism in the Sangha, the Buddha assumed numerous forms to confound his opponents The artist has shown considerable humour in drawing the burly figures of the naked śramaṇas

On the rear wall of the back corridor to the right of the *antarāla* are painted the following *Jātakas* in order—the *Śarabha Jātaka*, the *Mātṛipōshaka Jātaka*, the *Matsya Jātaka* and the *Śyāma Jātaka*[5] The story of the last of these is similar to that of Śrāvana in the *Rāmāyana* of Vālmīki[6] Next, the *Mahisha Jātaka* is painted on the right wall of the back corridor[7].

On the whole wall of the right corridor is painted the story of the *Simhala Avadāna*[8]. The story is told in the *Divyāvadāna*, but, as Mr Yazdani has shown, the frescoes here

[1] *Ajanta*, Part IV, pl XXXVIII-XL.
[2] *Ibid*, Part IV, pl XL-XLI.
[3] See Plate M
[4] *Ajanta*, Part IV, pl XLIII.
[5] *Ibid*, Part IV, plates XLIV-XLIX.
[6] *Rāmāyana*, II, 63, vv 22 f
[7] *Ajanta*, Part IV, pl LI a
[8] *Ibid*, Part IV, plates LI b-LXIV a.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL V

PLATE M

THE BUDDHA, YAŚŌDHARĀ AND RĀHULA

show some deviation from it Further, on the right wall of the front corridor is painted the story of the *Śibi Jātaka*[1] and on the front wall of the same corridor to the left of the main entrance are painted those of the following *Jātakas*, *viz*, the *Ruru Jātaka*, the *Riksha Jātaka* and the *Nyagrōdhamṛiga Jātaka*[2]

Besides, the ceilings of the Hall and the right and left corridors are decorated with painted designs of various kinds The ceiling of the Hall has, inside a large square, seven concentric circular bands with a circular pattern in the centre The bands have various decorative designs such as those of jewellery, creepers with leaves and flowers, pearl strings, etc. The space at the corners of the square is filled with flying figures with offerings of flowers In the decorative designs round the large circle and elsewhere on the ceiling of the Hall the heads of animals such as lions, elephants, horses, buffaloes, deer, etc as well as some fabulous creatures are ingeniously interwoven in the scrolls of creepers[3] As Mr Yazdani has observed, 'the colour-schemes of these subjects also show a highly developed art, since the different colours are most harmoniously blended and are most pleasant to the eye'[4] In view of the magnificent architecture, sculpture and painting in this cave there is hardly any exaggeration in the description in its inscription that 'the Vihāra cave is such as cannot be even imagined by little-souled persons[5]' It is undoubtedly 'the finest monument of its kind in India, and perhaps in the whole world[6]'

Like Cave XVII, Cave XIX at Ajantā was excavated by the ruler of Rishīka who was a feudatory of the Vākātaka Emperor Harishena It is one of the four Chaitya caves at Ajantā and is referred to as *Gandhakutī* in the inscription in Cave XVII[7] It is regarded as 'one of the most perfect specimens of the Buddhist art in India' In front of it was an enclosed court, 33 ft wide by 30 ft deep, but the left side of it has now almost entirely gone It has an elegant porch in front supported on two pillars which are decorated with horizontal bands of the lotus motif, and have finials of the *āmalaka* type[8]. The lintel over them is decorated with two horizontal bands of chaitya windows, with another of *kīrtimukhas* between them The whole façade of the cave is covered from top to bottom with figures of the Buddhas in various attitudes, standing or seated, single or in pairs, as also with floral designs and chaitya windows with pairs of lovers (*mithunas*) dallying with each other In the centre there is a large horse-shoe arch, with horizontal ribs carved in stone, which lights the interior of the *Gandhakutī* On each side there is a *yaksha*—Pañchika on the left and Pūrnabhadra on the right They are dressed in transparent garments and have beautiful

---

[1] *Ajanta*, Part IV, plates LXVC-LXVII.

[2] *Ibid*, Part IV, plates LXVIII-LXXX

[3] *Ibid*, Part IV, plates LXXXI-LXXXIV.

[4] *Ibid*, Part IV, p. 107.

[5] No 27, v. 25

[6] *Ajanta*, Part IV, p 11.

[7] This cave lies to the west of Cave XVII and thus answers to the description of the *Gandhakutī* mentioned in the inscription. Mr Yazdani doubts this identification and suggests that the *Gandhakutī* may have been 'an insignificant chapel' which has now disappeared owing to the disintegration of the rock above Cave XVIII This is, however, in direct opposition to the description in the inscription that the *Gandhakutī* was *udāra* or magnificent We have no reason to suppose that there was exaggeration in this As for the argument that this cave appears to be later than Cave I on the evidence of the decorative features of the triforium, we may cite the opinion of Burgess—'From its position and its style of architecture, there can be little doubt that it is of about the same age as the two Vihāras XVI and XVII which are next to it' *C T I*, p 317.

[8] See Plate N

coiffures and jewellery[1] Outside, in a niche at the bottom of the left wall of the court there is a beautiful panel of the Nāgarāja and his wife A serpent has spread its seven hoods over the head of the Nāgarāja Another hood is seen over the head of his wife Both of them wear high jewelled crowns and several ornaments To the proper right of the Nāgarāja there is an attendant with a *chaurī*[2] As stated before, there is a similar panel of the Nāgarāja and his wife in a small excavation near Cave XVI also

Inside, the *Gandhakuṭī* is 24 ft wide by 46 ft. long and 24 ft 4 in high The earlier caves of this type were perfectly plain, but this is elaborately carved The nave has 15 pillars, 11 ft high They have a square base, above which their shaft becomes first octagonal and then circular, with horizontal bands of beautiful tracery The circular portion is either plain or decorated with perpendicular or spiral flutes Above this is the *āmalaka* portion which is surmounted by a bracket capital with the figure of the seated Buddha in the middle and elephants, *śārdūlas* or flying *gandharvas* on the brackets Above a plain architrave there is an entablature, 5 ft high, which is divided into compartments by vertical bands of various designs[3] The compartments contain images of the Buddha, standing or seated The dome rises 8 ft 4 in high

The *Chaitya* contains, inside a niche and under an arch resting on two beautifully carved demi-pillars, a *bas-relievo* figure of the Buddha clad in a long robe Above the dome is the usual *harmikā* with a small image of the seated Buddha surmounted by three umbrellas one over another, each being upheld by four figures on four sides The roof of the aisles is flat and is decorated with flower scrolls, figures of the Buddha, etc The walls also have paintings of the Buddhas with halos, seated or standing

This is the first instance of a *chaitya* cave wholly in stone In earlier caves like that at Karle the ribs of the nave and the umbrellas over the *chaitya* were in wood. Here they are all in stone ' Nothing in or about it is or ever was in wood, and many parts are so lithic in design that if we did not know to the contrary, we might not be able to detect at once the originals from which they were derived The transformation from wood to stone is complete in this cave[4]

Some more caves of the Vākātaka age exist near the village Gulwādā, about 11 miles west of Ajanṭā They are known as the Ghatōtkacha caves and were excavated, like Cave XVI at Ajanṭā, by Varāhadēva, a minister of the Vākātaka king Harishēna They are situated in a deep gorge

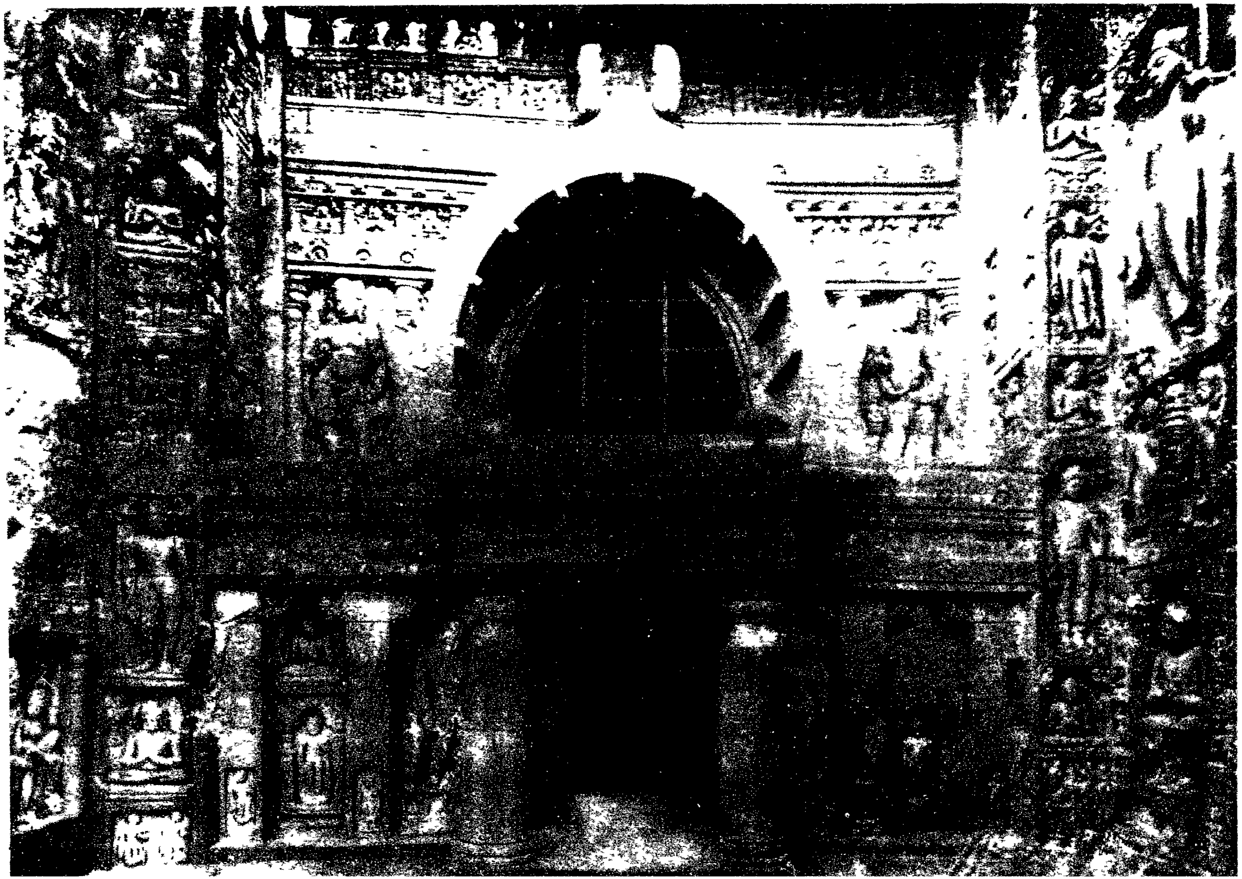
There were apparently three caves excavated here, of which only two are now extant, the third being known only from some traces left behind Both the caves that are still standing were of the *vihāra* type, but the pillars and pilasters of the smaller one are now almost entirely destroyed, only the bracket of a pillar and a pilaster still remaining The bracket has the curious representation of four deer with common head It will be remembered that the capitals of the pillars of the temple at Tigōwā had at the corners the representations of two lions with a common head

The larger cave, however, is in a fairly good state of preservation, though in its case also, the front pillars of the verandah are completely destroyed There is a mutilated inscription[5] on the back wall of the verandah at the north end, from which we learn that it was

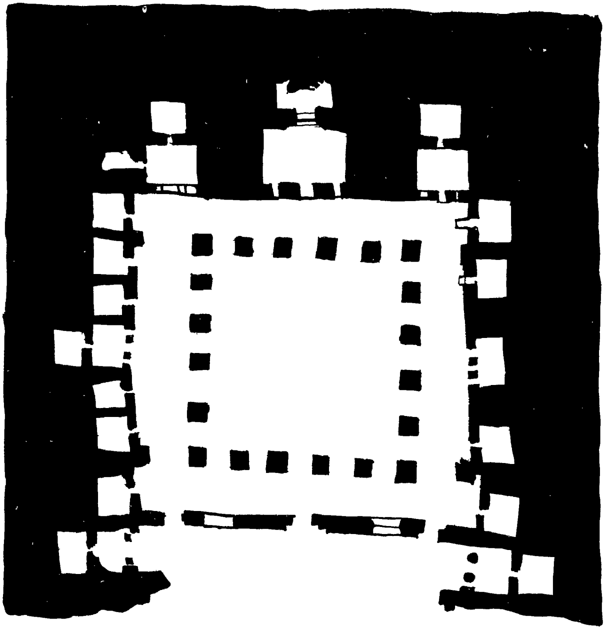
[1] *Ajanta*, Part IV, pl LXXV (a)
[2] *Ibid*, Part IV, pl LXXVI (b)
[3] *Ibid*, Part IV, pl LXXV (b).
[4] *C T.I*, p. 317
[5] No. 26

THE FRONT VIEW OF CAVE XIX AT AJAṆṬĀ

PLATE N



THE PLAN OF THE GHATŌTKACHA CAVE



excavated by Varāhadēva, a minister of Harishēna It gives his pedigree from the beginning, but as its lower part is sadly mutilated, all information about the purpose for which it was excavated and the Buddhist Sangha to which it was dedicated is now lost Another inscription carved over the figure of the Buddha on one of the pillars of the cave contains the well-known Buddhist creed, *Yē dharmmā hētu-prabhavāh*, etc

The larger cave generally resembles Cave XVI at Ajantā, though there are some minor differences in its plan[1] At either end of the verandah there is a chapel, with two pillars between pilasters in front and a small cell at the back The hall is entered by three doors, the central one being larger than the two side ones Between the central and the side door there is a window on either side The central door is decorated with two bands of scroll work and a third one containing seated and standing Buddhas, *mithunas* etc[2] At either end of the lintel there is a goddess standing on a boar, not a crocodile as in the caves at Ajantā, the change being introduced here probably with reference to the name Varāhadēva of the minister who got the caves excavated[3] The side doors and windows are decorated with *chaitya-vātāyanas* containing figures of the seated Buddha, with globular forms on the finials[4]

The hall inside is supported on twenty pillars, disposed in four rows The two middle pillars and those at the corners have square bases changing into octagon, sixteen-sided and thirty-two-fluted and then returning through the sixteen and eight-sided forms to the square under plain bracket capitals[5] The remaining pillars have octagonal shafts and square heads with brackets There are pilasters in the side walls in line with the front and back rows of pillars, those behind being decorated with full or half medallions[6] The front pilaster in the left side wall has a figure of the seated Buddha with an attendant on either side and the aforementioned Buddhist creed carved above

In the middle of the back wall of the hall there is an *antarāla* (antechamber) with two pillars in front, and the *chaitya-mandira* (sanctum) behind On each side of it in the back wall and also in the middle of the left wall of the hall there is a chapel with two pillars in front and a cell behind, like that at each end of the verandah mentioned before There are six other cells in the left wall and five on the right[7] In the *chaitya-mandira* behind the *antarāla* there is a large image of the Buddha, seated in the *yōgāsana* posture and the *Dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā*, with a Bōdhisattva carrying a *chauri* on either side The Bōdhisattva on his proper left is Vajrapāni as he has the *vajra* in his left hand, that on the right should be Padmapāni as in the caves at Ajantā, but his sign, *viz*, the lotus has not been carved On the pedestal of the Buddha's lion-seat there are the usual figures of the crouching deer with a wheel between them, symbolising the Buddha's first sermon in the Deer Park at Sārnāth Some devotees are also seen kneeling on either side of the wheel The Buddha has a large round halo round his face, beyond which are seen some flying *vidyādharas* and *vidyādharīs* with garlands for the worship of the Buddha[8]

---

[1] See Plate O
[2] *G C I*, pl 4
[3] No 26, v 18.
[4] *G C I*, pl 5
[5] *G C I*, pl 8
[6] *Ibid*, pl 9.
[7] The middle one on the right has the appearance of a chapel with two doors in front, but there is no cell behind it as in the case of the other chapels in this cave.
[8] *G C. I*, pl 3.

At the right end of the front aisle of the Hall there is carved a *chaitya* in half relic and on the other two walls appear a number of seated and standing Buddhas According to Burgess, these were carved at some later date

The present cave differs in certain respects from Cave XVI at Ajantā. It is supposed by some to be anterior to the latter on the basis of the general architectural style and the sculpture in it[1], but the inscription of Varāhadēva incised therein leaves no doubt that it is of the same age as the aforementioned caves at Ajantā Any differences that may be noticed in the architecture and sculpture of the two caves must be attributed to individual workmanship and not to a difference in their age

---

[1] p 4

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAIN BRANCH

No 1 Plate I

DĒOṬEK STONE INSCRIPTION OF RUDRASĒNA I

DĒOṬEK is now a small village, about 50 miles south-east of Nāgpur It has an old temple in a dilapidated condition and a large inscribed **slab.** The place was visited by Cunningham's assistant, Beglar, in the year 1873-74 He has described the temple and the inscribed slab in Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. VII, pp 123-25 From the pencil impressions Beglar took at the time, Cunningham published an eye-copy of the two inscriptions on the slab and his transcript of their texts, without any translation or interpretation, in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol I (First Edition), pp. 28-29 Though the inscriptions are very important, none noticed them until I drew attention to them at the Mysore session of the All-India Oriental Conference held in December 1935 They have been edited with facsimiles by me in the *Proceedings and Transactions*[1] of the Conference

I visited Dēotek in October 1935 and took estampages which showed some better readings than Cunningham's eye-copy On the other hand, some letters which Cunningham read in the last line of the earlier record have since then disappeared, evidently owing to the peeling off of the surface of the slab, which had for a long time been used as a seat by village boys and cowherds while tending cattle As described by Beglar[2], 'the inscribed slab is an oblong trapezoid of rough-grained, quartzy sandstone, worn smooth in places by the feet of villagers, it being situated in the thick shade of a magnificent tamarind tree, on the side of the village road, and thus offering a capital resting place and seat, the stone is nine feet long, three and a half feet broad at one end, and two feet ten inches at the other, with straight sides, it bears two distinct inscriptions' The stone has since been removed to the Central Museum, Nāgpur

The **earlier of the two inscriptions** is inscribed lengthwise and is in four lines It occupies 1′ 10″ of the breadth of the stone, leaving the lower portion of about 1′ 6″ uninscribed. The characters are of the early Brāhmī alphabet, resembling, in many cases, those of the Girnār edicts of Aśōka The language is early Prakrit as in the Girnār edicts At least the first three lines of this inscription seem to have originally extended to the right-hand edge of the slab, for, traces of isolated letters in the first line, which are in no way connected with the second inscription, can still be marked on the original stone Besides, the sense of the first two lines, which are fairly legible, appears to be incomplete in the absence of their right-hand half[3] It would again be strange if the engraver, selecting a large slab nine feet long and commencing to incise it lengthwise, had ended his lines about the middle of it, leaving out nearly a half at the right end. For these reasons I cannot accept Beglar's view that 'the second inscription was cut evidently with some regard for the prior inscription,

[1] *P.T A I O.C.*, 1935, pp. 63 f

[2] *C A S.R*, Vol. VII, p. 124.

[3] One would, for instance, expect at the end of line 1 the names of animals and the seasons in which their capture and slaughter were prohibited. Cf Aśōka's pillar edict V.

as it does not interfere with or injure it '[1] On the other hand, the later inscription seei to have been incised after the earlier one was chiselled off to make room foı it

The **object of the earlier inscription** was to record the command of some lord (*Sāı* (who is called ' king ' in line 4), prohibiting the capture and slaughter (evidently of soı animals in certain seasons as in Aśōka's fifth pillar edict, or, maybe, throughout ı year) and declaring some punishment for such as dared to disobey it The third line mı tions executive officers (*āmachā=amātyāh*) whose duty may have been to enforce these oıde The last line contains **the date 14,** denoting probably the regnal year in which the recc was incised

This edict seems to have been issued by a **Dharmamahāmātra** in the fourteenth yı aftei the coronation of Aśōka. From the fifth rock edict of the great Buddhist Empeı we learn that these *Mahāmātras* were first appointed by Aśōka in the thirteenth year af his coronation, *i e*, a yeaı prior to the date of this record One of the duties assigned to thı was to prevent the capture and slaughter of animals It is not unlikely that the *Dharmamal mātra* who was in charge of ancient Vidarbha caused the present recoıd to be incised Chikamburi mentioned in line 1, which seems to have been then a place of gıı importance, to proclaim the command of the great Emperor to his subjects living in ı neighbourhood[2]

The **second inscription** which concerns us here is in five lines[3], which are inscıık breadthwise, commencing from the narrow end of the slab Like the earlier inscriptıı it also has suffered considerable damage Some letters in the first four lines have eitl altogether disappeared or become illegible, owing to the wearing away and peeling off of ı surface of the slab. Besides, a channel 4″ in breadth has been cut right through the midı of the inscription, which has evidently resulted in the further loss of some more letters[4]

Like the Ēran inscription of Samudragupta, the present record is inscribed in t **box-headed variety** of the **southern alphabet** of about the fourth century A C As rega. individual letters, we may note the triangular *v* in *-vamśa* line 4, the tripartite *y* in linı and the unlooped *n* in line 5 The size of the letters varies from 1¾″ to 7½″. The **langua** is Sanskrit and the whole insciiption is in prose

The **object** of this inscription is to record the construction of a temple or place religious worship (*dhaıma-sthāna*)[5] by king **Rudrasēna** at **Chikkamburi.** It may be not in this connection that there is at present a small plain structure of laterite in a dilapidat condition just where the inscribed slab was noticed ' The temple is small, consisti simply of a cell and its entrance, it may have had a small portico or a *maṇḍapa* attachı as the ground in front is covered with cut blocks, but it could not have been large a indeed the temple is of the kind usually built without a *maṇḍapa* [6] ' The existing structı

---

[1] *C A S R*, Vol. VII, p 124

[2] In some of his edicts Aśōka orders his officers to get his edicts engraved on stone pillars, rocks ε stone slabs throughout the districts in their charge See his Rūpnāth rock inscription, line 5, a Sārnāth pillar inscription, lines 9-10

[3] There are faint traces of two letters (*Siddham?*) in a much smaller size in line 6

[4] The channel could not have existed at the time the inscription was incised, for, in one cası least (*viz*, in *vamśa tasya*) we are sure that it has caused the loss of one letter *viz.*, *jā* Beglar a has remarked, "Long afterwards, when no one could read the inscriptions, this great slab, large enoı to occupy the breadth of the sanctum of a temple, was considered to form into an *argha* and in the proc the inscriptions were remorselessly sacrificed". *C A.S R*, Vol VII, pp 124-25

[5] The chief temple in the capital was called *Vaijayika-dharma-sthāna*

[6] *C A S R*, Vol. VII, p 124.

is quite plain The only decoration it seems to have had was in the form of a scroll on its door frame, two fragments of which are lying in front of it The door seems to have been 4′ 4″ in breadth and about 4′ in height The lintel has, in a recess in the middle, a small image of two-armed Ganapati, measuring 6″ in breadth and 8½″ in height ' The roof of the sanctum is formed of intersecting squares and has a pyramidal shape cut up exteriorly into gradually diminishing steps Temples of this type can be seen in the adjoining villages of Pānōri and Ārmōri[1] There is a large image of Ganapati placed in the cell, but it seems to be of a later age The temple was originally dedicated to Śiva The *linga* has now disappeared, but from the socket in an old *argha* lying nearby, it seems to have been a large one, about 13″ in diameter Such *lingas* are found round about Mansar near Rāmtēk, which was undoubtedly an ancient holy place dating back at least to the time of the Vākātakas There is a broken image of Nandī lying in front of the present temple Though the present structure cannot date back to the fourth century A C, to which period the inscription can be referred, it undoubtedly marks an ancient site and may have been erected when the original temple fell into ruins

The inscription is not dated The name of the king's family which occurred in the beginning of the fourth line has, unfortunately, been lost, but on the evidence of palaeography Cunningham conjecturally assigned the record to Rudrasēna I, though according to the notions then prevalent, he called him a king of Kailakila Yavanas, and placed him in 170 A C[2] Though this date cannot now be accepted, Cunningham's attribution of the present record to the **Vākāṭaka king Rudrasēna I** seems to be correct There were two kings of this name in the dynasty of the Vākāṭakas, *viz*, Rudrasēna I, who was the grandson and successor of Pravarasēna I, and Rudrasēna II, the grandson of the former and son-in-law of Chandragupta II–Vikramāditya Of these, the former was a Śaiva, being a fervent devotee of Svāmi-Mahābhairava,[3] while the latter, probably owing to the influence of his wife Prabhavatīguptā, was a worshipper of Chakrapāni (Vishnu)[4]. As the present inscription evidently records the building of a Śiva temple, it may be ascribed to Rudrasēna I This is also confirmed by the palaeographic evidence detailed above[5]

The importance of the present inscription lies in this that it is the **earliest record of the Vākāṭakas** discovered so far, and is, besides, the only lithic record of that royal family. Its situation shows that Rudrasēna I ruled south of the Narmadā and renders doubtful the identification of Rudradēva, who is mentioned in the Allāhābād stone pillar inscription as one of the kings of Āryāvarta, with Rudrasēna I of the Vākātaka dynasty

There remains now the question—Why was the inscription inscribed breadthwise and commenced at the narrow end of the slab? As is well-known, there was a revival of Hinduism and Sanskrit learning in the age of the Vākātakas They themselves performed animal sacrifices, and could have therefore had no regard for Aśōka's precepts of *ahimsā* When therefore Rudrasēna I built a temple of his favourite deity and wanted to put up an inscription of his own to record it, he could have felt no scruples in chiselling off some part of the earlier inscription to make room for his record The stone was probably placed

[1] *C A S R*, Vol VII, pp 125-26.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol I, p 29

[3] See the adjective अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य applied to him in the copper-plates of Pravarasēna II.

[4] See his description भगवतश्चक्रपाणेःप्रसादोपार्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य in the copper-plates of his son Pravarasēna II.

[5] Note especially the unlooped *n* in line 6. This letter has a looped form in all other Vākātaka inscriptions

on the broader end of its length and half-buried, leaving only the Vākātaka record above the ground The left-hand portion of the earlier record was left untouched as the Vākātaka inscription, which was commenced at the narrow end of the slab, was finished about the middle of the stone

There is only one place, *viz*, **Chikkamburi,**[1] mentioned in both the records As pointed out by Hiralal, it is identical with the adjoining village Chikmārā Chikkamburi seems to have been a flourishing city for more than six hundred years; for, both the *Mahāmātra* of Aśōka and the Vākātaka king Rudrasēna I thought it fit to incise their records there In ancient times it must have extended to and perhaps included in its expanse the site of the modern village Dēotek where the inscribed slab was lying

Text

1 चिक्कम्बु [रि] स
2 [स?] ज
3 प्रवरम · मस्याय
4 वश[जा*]तस्येद रुद्र–
5 सेनरा[ज्ञ.] [स्व*][2]धर्म्मस्थान (नम् ।) [।*]

Translation

(At) **Chikkamburi**
. **Pravara**[3]

(Line 4) This (*is*) a special place of religious worship of *Rājan* **Rudrasēna** (**I**), born in the family [*of the Vākātakas*].

---

[1]The name appears as *Chikambar*[*i*] in the earlier inscription
[2]Read रुद्रसेनराजस्य
[3]This may refer to Pravarasēna I.

DĒOTEK STONE INSCRIPTION OF RUDRASĒNA I

POONĀ PLATES OF PRABHĀVATĪGUPTĀ

THESE **copper-plates** were found in the possession of one Balwant Bhau Nagarkar, a coppersmith of **Poonā** who originally hailed from Ahmadnagar in the Mahārāshtra State They are said to have been preserved as an heirloom in his family for some generations They, however, seem to have originally belonged to the Hinganghāṭ *tahsil* of the Wardhā District in Vidaibha, for, as shown below, most of the places mentioned in this grant can be located in that *tahsil* The plates were at first very briefly noticed by Prof K. B Pathak in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XLI, pp 214-15 Their importance was immediately recognised and the information furnished by them was utilised by V. A Smith in his article entitled ‘ The Vākāṭaka Dynasty of the Central Provinces and Berar ’ published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1914, pp 317 f They were later edited with facsimiles and an English translation by K B Pathak and K N Dikshit in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XV, pp 40 f They are edited here from the same facsimiles as their present whereabouts are not known

The **plates** are **two** in number, measuring $9\frac{1}{4}''$ long and $5\frac{3}{4}''$ broad ‘ They are strung together by means of a ring ($\frac{1}{4}''$ thick and $\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter) with soldered ends, passing through a hole $\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter, cut through the centre of one side of the plates The ring is further made to pass through the perforated handle of the **seal,** which is plain and oval in shape (length $2\frac{7}{8}''$, breadth $2\frac{1}{8}''$), and contains four lines of inscription, with figures of the sun and the moon above and a flower at the bottom ’ The weight of the plates and the ring is 97 *tolās*

The record is engraved only on the inner side of the two plates, the first containing 10 lines, and the second, 12 lines The letters on the first plate are somewhat larger than those on the second, the average size of the former is $\frac{1}{4}''$ and that of the latter is $\frac{3}{16}''$ The writing is in a fair state of preservation

The **characters** are mostly of the nail-headed variety having a triangle with its apex downwards at the top of the letters A few letters, however, are of the box-headed type in which all other inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas were written See, *e g*, *Vākāṭaka-* in line 1 of the seal and *si* of *siddham* in line 1 on the first plate It is noteworthy that besides their box-heads, some of these letters (*e g v* and *s*) have forms which are different from those noticed elsewhere in this grant They agree with those in other grants of box-headed characters It would seem therefore that the scribe began to write the present grant in box-headed characters, but not being accustomed to them, he soon changed over to nail-headed characters with which he was more familiar He may have hailed from North India where the nail-headed characters were in vogue

The characters show an admixture of northern and southern peculiarities, the former predominating over the latter. Thus, *g* and *s* have a loop at the lower end of their left member, *n* has its vertical and upper bar divided into two, *sh* and *ś* are looped, but *t* and *m* are not, the vertical of *l* is shortened and the tail of *h* turns sharply to the left Besides these northern characteristics, the following southern ones may also be noticed. *a*, *k* and *r* have a curve turned to the left at the bottom of their verticals; the lingual *ḍ* is round-backed, the medial *ṛi* is shown by a curve turned to the left in *sa-kṛipt-ōpakṛiptah*, line 18, but in *pṛithivyām-*,

line 5 and *-atisṛishtō* in line 15 the curve turns to the right The *jihvāmūlīya* occurs twice in lines 12 and 15, and the *upadhmānīya* once only in line 6 The **language** is Sanskrit and except for two verses, one on the seal and the other of the usual imprecatory type at the end, the whole record is in prose. As regards **orthography,** we may notice the reduplication of the consonant after *r* as in *Nāndivarddhanāt* in line 1 and the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *drishtam* in the margin of lines 2-3

The record commences with *drishtam*, 'seen' The plates were issued from **Nandivardhana** by **Prabhāvatīguptā,** the chief queen of the **Vākātaka Mahārāja Rudrasēna (II)** and mother of the *Yuvarāja* **Divākarasēna.** She was then acting as Regent for her minor son The plates record the grant of the village **Daṅguna** which the dowager queen made to Āchārya **Chanālasvāmin** on the **twelfth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika,** evidently after observing a fast on the preceding Prabōdhinī Ēkādaśī Prabhāvatīguptā is described as a fervent devotee of the Bhagavat (i e Vishnu) She first offered the gift to the foot-prints of the Bhagavat, who is probably the same as Rāmagirisvāmin mentioned in her later Ṛiddhapur plates, and then made it over to the Āchārya The donated village was situated in the **Supratishṭha āhāra** and lay to the east of **Vilavaṇaka,** to the south of **Śīrshagrāma** (Śirīshagrāma ?) and to the north of **Kadāpiñjana.** The grant is **dated** in the **thirteenth year** evidently of the boy-prince's reign The scribe was **Chakradāsa.**

It is noteworthy that though Prabhāvatīguptā describes herself as the Chief Queen of the Vākātaka *Mahārāja* Rudrasēna (II), she gives the **genealogy** of the **Guptas** and not of the Vākātakas in the introductory portion of the present grant This is also noticed in her later grant recorded in the Ṛiddhapur plates[1] She was evidently very proud of her descent from the imperial Gupta family

The genealogy begins with **Mahārāja Ghatōtkatcha,** the first king of the Gupta (dynasty) His son was *Mahārāja* **Chandragupta (I);** the latter's son from the *Mahādēvī* **Kumāradēvī** was *Mahārājādhirāja* **Samudragupta,** the daughter's son of the **Lichchhavi** (chief), who performed several *aśvamēdha* sacrifices, his son was *Mahārājādhirāja* **Chandragupta (II)** a devout worshipper of the Bhagavat, the latter's daughter from the *Mahādēvī* **Kubēranāgā** who was born in a Nāga family was **Prabhāvatīguptā.** She was the chief queen of the Vākātaka *Mahārāja* **Rudrasēna (II)** and mother of the *Yuvarāja* **Divākarasēna.**

It will be noticed that the description of Prabhāvatī's Gupta ancestors given in the present grant does not agree completely with that noticed in genuine Gupta records. In the first place it makes no mention of Gupta, the founder of the dynasty Secondly, Chandragupta I is mentioned with the lower title of *Mahārāja*, not with the imperial one of *Mahārājādhirāja* as in Gupta records Thirdly, some of the epithets used here to describe Chandragupta II were usually applied to his father Samudragupta[2] Notwithstanding these differences, the grant is undoubtedly genuine as we find that the genealogy given here is repeated *verbatim* in the Riddhapur plates of the dowager queen[3]

The importance of the present grant lies in this that it placed for the first time the Vākātaka genealogy on a sound basis In the Vākātaka grants discovered before (*viz* the Chammak, Siwani and Dudiā plates of Pravarasēna II) Prabhāvatīguptā was described as the daughter of *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta Fleet identified this Dēvagupta with

[1] No 8, below

[2] See e g the Allāhābād stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Bhitāri stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta

[3] In the Riddhapur plates, Samudragupta also is mentioned with the lower title of *Mahārāja* See No 8, line 4

the homonymous king of the Later Gupta dynasty, mentioned in the Dēo-Bārnārk pillar inscription and thus relegated the Vākātakas to the eighth century A C His opinion was accepted by Kielhorn and Sukhtankar The present inscription, which states clearly that Prabhāvatī was the daughter of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta II, proved unmistakably, for the first time, that she lived in the last quarter of the fourth century A C It has since been shown that Dēvagupta was a favourite name of Chandragupta II and so it finds a mention in Vākātaka grants

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Nandivardhana** was identified by Hiralal with Nandardhan or Nagardhan near Rāmtēk The identification has since been corroborated by several proofs The other villages, however, remained unidentified A clue to their location was afforded by the Jāmb plates of Pravarasēna II, discovered in 1940, which also mention the same **Supratishtha āhāra.** With this clue I could identify some of the villages mentioned in the present grant **Vilavanaka** seems to be Vanī, about 2½ miles to the west, and **Kadāpiñjana,** Kadhājan 3 miles to the south by east of Hinganghāt Hinganghāt seems therefore to occupy the same position as the ancient village **Danguna.** The latter place-name appears to have been changed to Hingan in course of time, *ghāt* being added to it as it was a fording place on the Wunnā It is noteworthy that the name of the village Kavadghāt on the opposite bank of the same river also ends in *ghāt* As the villages mentioned in the Jāmb plates as situated in the **Supratishtha** *āhāra* can also be located in the Hinganghāt *tahsil*, that *āhāra* seems to have comprised roughly the territory now included in that *tahsil* The present plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, though discovered in distant Poonā, seem therefore to have originally belonged to the Hinganghāt *tahsil*

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 द्रिष्टम्[2] [।*] सिद्धम् [।*] जितम्भगवता [।*] स्वस्ति [।*] नान्दिवर्द्धना[3]दासीद्गुप्तादि[राजो] म[हाराज]-
2 श्रीघटोत्कचस्तस्य सत्पुत्रो महाराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य सत्पुत्रो-
3 नेकाश्वमेधयाजी लिच्छविदो(दौ)हित्रो महादेव्या कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो
4 महाराजाधिराजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्तत्य(त्स)त्पुत्रस्तत्पादपरिगृहीत
5 पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्सर्व्वराजोछे(च्छे)त्ता चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादित-
6 यशा नेक[4]गोहिरण्यकोटिसहस्रप्रदᳶपरमभागवतो महारा-
7 जाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य दुहिता धारणसगोत्रा नागकुलसम्भू-
8 ताया(या) श्रीमहादेव्या कुबेरनागायामुत्पन्नोभयकुलालङ्कारभूतात्यन्तभगवद्भक्ता
9 वाकाटकाना महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्याग्रमहिषी युवराज-
10 [श्री]दिवाकरसेनजननी श्रीप्रभावति(ती)गुप्ता सुप्रतिष्ठाहारे

Second Plate

11 विलवणकस्य पूर्व्वपार्श्वे शीर्षग्रामस्य दक्षिणपार्श्वे कदापिञ्जनस्यापरपा[र्श्वे]
12 सिदिविवरकस्योत्तरपार्श्वे दङगुणग्रामे ब्राह्मणाद्यान्ग्रामकुटुम्बिनᳵकुशल-
13 मुक्त्वा समाज्ञापयति [।*] विदितमस्तु वो यथाय ग्रामोस्माभि स्वपुण्याप्यायना[र्त्थं]
14 कार्त्तिकशुक्लद्वादश्या(श्या) भगवत्पादमूले निवेद्य भगवद्भक्ताचार्य्यंचनालस्वामिनेपूर्व्वं-

[1] From the facsimiles facing p. 42 in *Ep Ind*, Vol XV.

[2] Read दृष्टम् This word occurs in the margin between lines 2 and 3

[3] Read नन्दिवर्द्धना- as in No. 3, line 1

[4] Read अनेक-

15 दत्त्या उदकपूर्व्वमतिसृष्टो[1] यतो भवद्भिरुचितमर्य्यादया सर्व्वाज्ञाऽकर्तव्या [*] पूर्व्व-
16 [राज्जा][2]नुमताश्चात्र चातुर्विद्याग्रहारपरिहारान्वितरामस्तद्यथाभटच्छत्र[3]प्रावेश्य
17 अचारासनचर्म्माङ्गारकिण्व[4]क्रेणिखनक अपा[र*]म्पर[*] अ[खनि][5]मेध्य अपुष्पक्षीरस[न्दोह]
18 सनिधिस्सोपनिधिस्सकृप्तोपकृप्त [6] [।*]न (त) देष भविष्यद्राजभिस्सरक्षितव्य [*] परिवर्द्ध-
19 यितव्यश्च [।*] यश्चास्मच्छासनमगणयमानस्स्वल्पामप्यत्राबाधा (धा) कुर्य्यात्कारयीत वा[7]-
20 तस्य ब्राह्मणे (णै) रावेदितस्य सदण्डनिग्रह कुर्य्याम [।*] व्यासगि (गी) तश्चात्र श्लोको भवति [।*]
21 स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ता (त्ता) वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरा (राम्) [।*] गवा (वां) शतसहस्रस्य हन्तु-
र्हरति दुष्कृतम्[8] [।।*]
22 सवत्सरे च त्रयोदशमे[9] लिखितमिद (द) शासनम (म्) [।*] चक्कदासेनोत्कट्टितम् [।*]

SEAL

1 वाकाटकललामस्य
2 [क्र]मप्राप्तनृपश्रिय[।*]
3 जनन्या युवराजस्य
4 शासन रिपुशास[न][म्*।।][10]

TRANSLATION

Seen Success! Victory has been attained by the Bhagavat! Hail! From **Nandivardhana**—

There was the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Ghatōtkacha,** the first king of the **Guptas**[11] His excellent son (*was*) the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Chandragupta (I).** His excellent son (*was*) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Samudragupta,** (*who was*) born of the *Mahādēvī* **Kumāradēvī;** (*who was*) the daughter's son of the **Lichchhavi** (*chief*) ; (*and*) who performed several horse-sacrifices His excellent son (*is*) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Chandragupta (II),** graciously favoured by him[12] (*i e* , Samudragupta), who is a fervent devotee of the Bhagavat (Vishnu), who is a matchless warrior on the earth[13]; who has exterminated all kings, whose fame has tasted the waters of the four oceans[14], (*and*) who has donated many thousands of crores of cows and gold (*coins*).

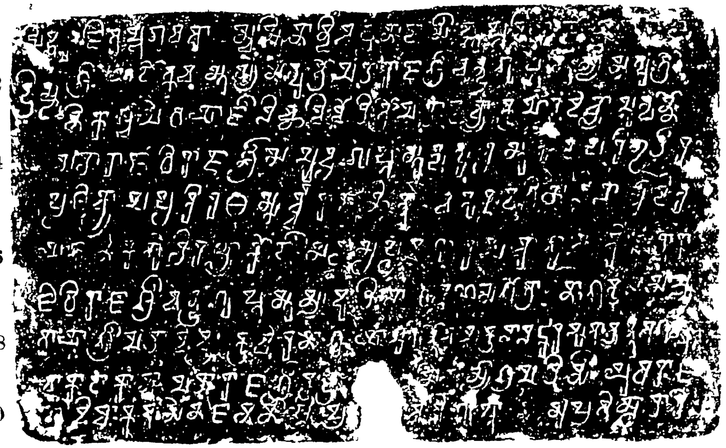
(Line 7) His daughter, the illustrious **Prabhāvatīguptā** of the **Dhārana** *gōtra*, born of the illustrious *Mahādēvī* **Kubēranāgā,** who was (*herself*) born in the **Nāga** family,—who is a fervent devotee of the Bhagavat (Vishnu), who (*was*) the Chief Queen of the illustrious **Rudrasēna** (II), the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākāṭakas;** who is the mother of the *Yuvarāja*, the illustrious

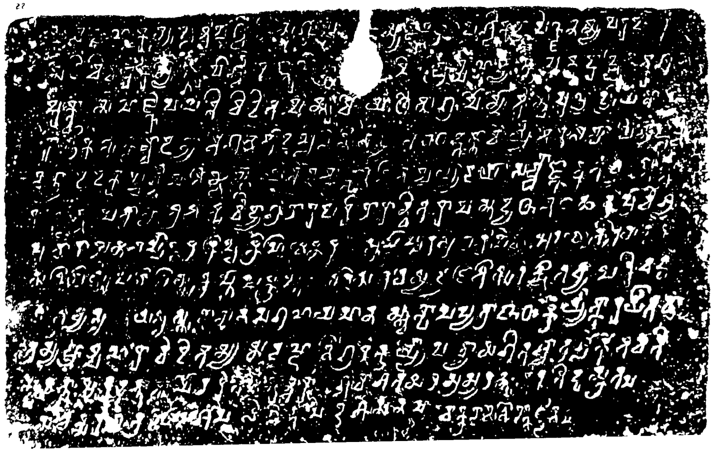
---

[1] Read -मतिसृष्ट ।
[2] Read राजा-
[3] Read च्छात्र- as in other Vākātaka plates.
[4] Some grants add लवण before किण्व
[5] The previous editors read अ[पशु]-, but the *aksharas* are clearly as given above
[6] Read सक्लृप्तोपक्लृप्त .
[7] Read कारयेद्वा
[8] Metre *Anushtubh*
[9] Read त्रयोदशे
[10] Metre *Anushtubh.*
[11] Pathak and Dikshit translated, "who had Gupta as the first king" But see *Guptānām-ādirāja* in lines 1-2 of the Riddhapur plates (No. 8, below), which shows that the intended sense is as given here
[12] *Lit* favoured by his feet.
[13] These adjectives are usually applied to Samudragupta
[14] This expression is generally translated as 'whose fame has been tasted by the waters of the four oceans' See *C I I*, Vol III, p 54 and *Ep Ind.*, Vol XV, p 43 But compare *ti-samuda-toya-pīta vāhanasa* (*ibid*, Vol. VIII, p 60), which shows that the intended sense is as above.

POONĀ PLATES OF PRABHĀVATĪGUPTĀ

Seal





Divākarasēna;—having announced (*her*) good health, commands the householders of the village, Brāhmaṇas and others, (*residing*) in the village of **Daṅguṇa,** (*situated*) in the *āhāra* of **Supratishṭha,** to the east of **Vilavanaka,** to the south of **Śirshagrāma,** to the west of **Kadāpiñjana** and to the north of **Sidivivaraka,** as follows —

"Be it known to you that on the **twelfth** (*lunar day*) of the **bright** (*fortnight*) of **Kārttika,** We have, for augmenting our own religious merit, donated this village, with the pouring out of water, to the *Āchārya* **Chanālasvāmin,** who is a devotee of the Bhagavat, as a gift not previously made, after having offered it to the foot-prints of the Bhagavat Wherefore, you should obey all (*his*) commands, with proper respect

(L. 16) And We confer here on (*him*) the following exemptions incidental to an *agrahāra* granted to the Chāturvidya (Brāhmaṇas), as approved by former kings —(*This village is*) not to be entered by soldiers and policemen[1], (*it is*) exempt from (*the obligation to provide*) grass, hides as seats, and charcoal[2] (*to touring royal officers*), exempt from (*the royal prerogative of*) purchasing fermenting liquors[3] and digging (*salt*), exempt from (*the right to*) mines and khadira trees[4], exempt from (*the obligation to supply*) flowers and milk, (*it is donated*) together with (*the right to*) hidden treasures and deposits (*and*) together with major and minor taxes[5].

(L 18) Wherefore, this (*grant*) should be maintained and augmented by future kings Whoever, disregarding Our order, will (*himself*) cause or make (*others*) cause the slightest obstruction, upon him, when complained against by the Brāhmaṇas, We will inflict punishment together with a fine

And there is, on this point, (*the following*) verse sung by Vyāsa :—

(*Here occurs an imprecatory verse*)

(L 22) This charter[6] has been written in the **thirteenth** (*regnal*) **year.**' (*It has been*) engraved by **Chakradāsa.**

SEAL

(*This is*) the enemy-chastising command of the Mother of the *Yuvarāja*, the ornament of the **Vākāṭakas,** who has attained royal fortune by inheritance

---

[1]*Bhaṭas* are soldiers and *chhātras* (lit umbrella-bearers), who correspond to the *chāṭas* of other records (cf No. 19, line 37), are policemen They were forbidden to enter the donated villages except for apprehending thieves and persons accused of high treason Cf No 19, lines 37-38

[2]Fleet translated, 'It does not carry with it (the right to) pasturage, hides and charcoal' He thought that this and other similar expressions reserved certain rights to the villagers against the grantees See *C I I*, Vol III, p 242, n 1 This does not appear to be correct The expression evidently exempts the donee from the duty of feeding and lodging royal officers during their stay in the village Later grants mention a tax called *vasati-daṇḍa,* which was levied for the purpose See *Ep Ind*, Vol XXV, p 225 and n Cf *a-tana-kaṭṭha-gahanam* in the Hirahadagalli plates. *Ibid*, Vol I, pp 5 f.

[3]*Kiṇva* is a drug or seed used to cause fermentation in the manufacture of spirits See *MSM*, ch VIII, 326 Later grants mention that the right to *mahua* trees from which liquor was manufactured was transferred to the donee *C I I*, Vol IV, p 343

[4]Pathak and Dikshit, who read *a-paśu-mēdhyah* in line 17, translated, 'not to have an animal sacrifice', but the reading of the text is clearly *a-khaṇi-mēdhyah* *Mēdhya* has therefore to be taken in the sense of 'Khadira trees'

[5]Kauṭilya *Arthaśāstra* (p 60) gives *kḷipta* in the sense of 'fixed assessment'. *Kḷipta* and *upakḷipta* correspond to *bhāga* and *bhōga,* which occur in the grants of Bharatabala and the kings of Śarabhapura *Kḷipta* probably means 'land-tax', and *upkḷipta* miscellaneous taxes in cash or kind

[6]Fleet translated *ripuśāsanam* by 'a charter for (*the observance of even*) his enemies' Pathak and Dikshit translated as above

No 3 Plate III

JĀMB PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates were discovered, in 1940, in the possession of one Baburao Madhavrao Athole, Mokasdar of Jāmb, a village, about 7 miles north by east of Hinganghāt, in the Hinganghāt *tahsil* of the Wardhā District in Vidarbha They were edited by me with facsimiles in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXVI, pp 155 f They are edited here from the same facsimiles

The **copper-plates** are four in number, each measuring 8″ by 4 11″ The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only, and the remaining two on both the sides When the plates were first seen by me, they were held together by a ring, but its ends were neither joined by a pin nor soldered The seal which it must have carried is not forthcoming now All the plates are in a good state of preservation, and consequently there is no uncertainty in the reading anywhere The weight of the four plates is 185 *tōlās* and that of the ring is 16 *tōlās*

The record consists of 36 lines, six being written on each inscribed face of the four plates The **characters** are of the box-headed variety The following peculiarities may be noticed —The box is in some cases fixed to the back of *j*, instead of being added at the top (cf *mahārāja-* in lines 7 and 8); in some cases the box is not added at all (*cf mahārāja-* in line 14), the sign of the *upadhmānīya* which occurs in lines 13, 15 and 33 has in all cases a box added at the top which is not noticed in other records, final *m*, which is seen in a smaller size, has a box-head in *siddham*, but not in *drishtam*, both in line 1, the medial *au* is bipartite everywhere, *kh* is without a loop (cf *khanaka-*, line 27 and *likhita-*, line 36), the lingual *d* is distinguished from *d* in *danda*, line 11, but not in *Manduki-*, line 18 and *Kaundinya* in line 19, the subscript *t* is in some cases looped, finally, single and double dots are used here and there to denote punctuation, which is redundant in most cases

The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for an imprecatory verse in lines 34-35, the record is in prose throughout As regards **orthography,** we find that consonants are reduplicated before and after *r* as in *parākkram-*, line 5, and *mūrddh-*, line 6, *th* is reduplicated before *y* in *Bhāgīratthy-*, line 6, and *visarga* before *p* is changed to *upadhmānīya* in lines 13, 15 and 33

The record opens with the word *drishtam*, ' seen ' The plates were issued by **Pravarasēna II** of the **Vākātaka dynasty** from **Nandivardhana.** In the introductory portion of the grant his genealogy is traced from *Samrāt* **Pravarasēna I,** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātaka** (dynasty) He belonged to the Vishnuvriddha *gōtra* and performed several Vedic sacrifices such as Agnishtoma, Aptōryāma, Ukthya, Shodaśin, Atirātra, Vājapēya, Brihaspatisava and Sādyaskra as well as four Aśvamēdhas He was succeeded by his grandson **Rudrasēna I,** the son of **Gautamīputra** from the daughter of **Bhavanāga,** the *Mahārāja* of the **Bhāraśivas.** The royal family of the Bhāraśivas is said to have been created by the god Śiva who was pleased by their carrying his *linga* on their shoulders They performed ten Aśvamēdhas and were crowned with the water of the Bhāgīrathī (Gangā) which they had obtained by their valour *Mahārāja* Rudrasēna I was a fervent devotee of Svāmi-Mahābhairava He was succeeded by his son *Mahārāja* **Prithivīshēna (I),** who was a fervent devotee of Mahēśvara He was endowed with several noble qualities and ruled for a long time, having sons and grandsons as well as a large army and a treasure which had been accumulating for a hundred years His son was *Mahārāja* **Rudrasēna II,** who is said to have acquired

royal fortune by the grace of Chakrapāni (Vishnu) His son from **Prabhāvatīguptā,** the daughter of *Māhārājādhirāja* **Dēvagupta,** was *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna II,** who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara As stated before, this Dēvagupta is none other than Chandragupta II -Vikramāditya, the illustrious Emperor of the Gupta dynasty

The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Pravarasēna II, of the village **Kōthuraka** which was situated in the *āhāra* (territorial division) of **Supratishtha.** The village lay to the west of the river **Umā,** to the north of **Chiñchāpalli,** to the east of **Bonthikavātaka** and to the south of **Mandukigrāma** The donee was the celibate Brāhmana **Kāluttaka,** who belonged to the Kaundinya *gotra* and the Taittirīya *śākhā* of the Black *Yajurvēda* The grant was made at the victorious place of religious worship (*vaijayika dharmasthāna*) and is dated on the **twelfth tithi** of the **bright fortnight** of **Āśvina** in the **second** regnal year The **Dūtaka** was **Chakradēva,** and the scribe **Nāgavarman.**

The donee of the present plates is called *gana-yājin* It may therefore be conjectured that the grant was made on the occasion of a *gana-yāga* at which he officiated as a priest. The *Manusmriti* (III, 164) enjoins that a sacrificer of the Ganas should be avoided at a Śrāddha The expression *ganānām yājakah* is variously interpreted by the commentators of Manu[1], but Buhler's suggestion[2] that the reference may be to the *gana-hōmas* mentioned in the *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra* seems to be preferable These *gana-homas* were to be performed by a person for himself A Brāhmana is, however, allowed to perform the rite for his teacher, father and mother, but for none else If he performs it for others through greed, he is tainted by sin and perishes like one who has swallowed poison. Baudhāyana, however, says later on (IV, 8, 10) that through a desire of removing one's guilt one may cause these oblations to be offered by men who have been engaged for money in case one is unable to do it, a man need not torment himself This means, as explained by the commentator Govindasvāmin, that the wealthy man who engages a priest for the performance of the rite will be freed from sin, but the latter will be tainted by guilt[3] This explains why the priests who performed *gana-hōmas* for others out of greed were avoided at a *śrāddha* Naturally few persons must have come forward to do the rite and those who did it received a high reward The case is analogous to that of the first annual *śrāddha* in honour of a dead person or to that of a *śrāddha* at an eclipse The donee of the present plates seems to have performed such a *gana-hōma* for Pravarasena II, from whom he received a village as his sacrificial fee

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Nandivardhana** has already been identified with Nandardhan or Nagardhan near Rāmtēk in the Nāgpur District **Kōthuraka,** the donated village, cannot now be traced. Its site seems to have been occupied by Māngaon on the right bank of the Wunnā, about 2½ miles north by west of Jāmb, since all the boundary villages mentioned in the present plates can be identified in its vicinity in their respective directions Thus **Chiñchāpallī** is Chichōlī which also is situated on the right bank of the same river Wunnā, half a mile to the south of Māngaon, **Bōnthikavātaka** is now called Bōthad and **Maṇḍukigrāma,** Māndgaon, about 3½ miles to the north by west and 2 miles to the north respectively from Māndgaon The *Wardhā District Gazetteer* records a tradition that Māndgaon is named after one Māndō Rishi who is said to have done penance on the Wunnā river The present grant, however, shows that the ancient name of the place

---

[1] For other interpretations of *gana-yāga,* see *Ep Ind*, Vol XXVI, pp. 157 f

[2] See his *Laws of Manu,* S B E, Vol. XXV, p. 106

[3] See Gāvindasvāmin's commentary on *Baudhāyana-Dharamasūtra,* IV, 8, 9

was Mandukigrāma The identification of these three boundaries shows that the river **Umā** which formed the eastern boundary of the donated village is none other than the Wunnā As shown before, **Supratishtha** the headquarters of the *āhāra* in which these villages were situated comprised roughly the territory now included in the Hinganghāt *tahsil* of the Wardhā District

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 द्रि(दृ)ष्टम् [।*] सिद्धम् [।*] स्वस्त(स्ति) नन्दिवर्द्धना[त् ।*] अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्य-
षोडश्यतिरात्र-
2 वाजपेयबृहस्य(स्प)तिसवसाद्यस्क्रचतुरश्वमेधयाजिन[2] विष्णुवृद्ध-
3 सगोत्रस्य सम्राट्[3] वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनो सूनो[4]
4 अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य ।।[5] असभारसन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गो[6]-
5 [द्व]हनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवशानाम् पराक्क्रमाधिगतभागी-
6 रत्थ्यमलजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्ताना दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नाताना(ना) भारशिवाना

Second Plate First Side

7 महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य गौतमि(मी)पुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य ।[5] वाकाट-
8 कानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनो अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य ।।[5]
9 सत्यार्ज्जवकारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्क्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधीमत्व(त्त्व)-
10 पात्रगतभ[क्ति]त्वधर्म्मविजयित्वमनोनैर्म्मल्यादिगुणैस्समु-
11 पेतस्य ।। व[र्ष]शतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तान-
12 पुत्रपौत्रिण[ ] युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्व्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीपृथिवी-

Second Plate Second Side

13 सेनस्य सूनोर्ब्भगवतश्चक्क्रपाणेश्प्रसादा(दो)पार्ज्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य
14 महाराजश्रि(श्री)रुद्रसेनस्य सूनो महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्त-
15 सुताय(या) प्रभावतीगुप्ताय(या)मुत्पन्नस्य ।।[7] शम्भोश्प्रसादधृति(त)कार्त्त-
16 युगस्य ।[7] वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहारा[ज*]श्रीप्रवरसेन-
17 स्य वचना[त्*]। सुप्रतिष्ठाह(हा)रे ।[7] उमानद्या अपरपार्श्वे ।[7] चिचापल्या[8]-
18 उत्तरे पार्श्वे ।[7] बोन्थिकवाटकस्य ।[7] पूर्वे पार्श्वे ।[7] मण्डुकिग्रामस्य-

Third Plate First Side

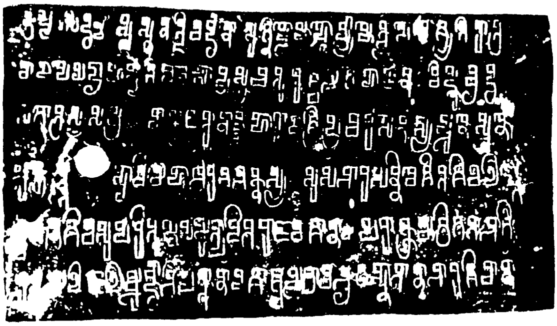
19 दक्षिणे पार्श्वे ।[7] कोथुरकन्नामग्राम कौण्डिन्यसगोत्र ।[7] तैत्तिरिकगणयाजि-
20 कालुट्टकब्रह्मचारिणे दत्ता(त्त) [।*] यतोस्मत्सन्तका सर्वाद्ध्यक्षनियोगनियुक्ता
21 आज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भट्टा[9]श्छात्राश्च विषुतपूर्व्वयाज्ञाज्ञापयि-
22 तव्या[10] विदितमस्तु व. यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्म्मायुर्ब्बलविजयैश्वर्य्यवि-
23 वृद्धये इहामुत्रहितार्त्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजयिके धम्म(र्म्म)स्थाने अपूर्व्वद-

---

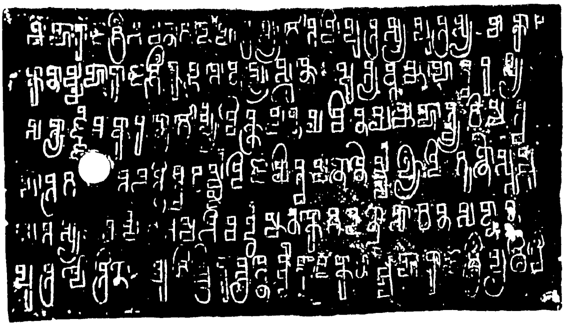
[1] From the facsimile facing pages 160-61, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXVI.
[2] Here and in many places below, rules of *Sandhi* have not been observed.
[3] Read सम्राजो
[4] Read सूनो सूनो
[5] This mark of punctuation is superfluous
[6] The *anusvāra* is misplaced Read असभार-
[7] This mark of punctuation is superfluous
[8] Read चिचापल्ल्या
[9] Read भटा as in other Vākāṭaka grants
[10] Read विश्रुतपूर्व्वयाज्ञयाज्ञापयितव्या

JĀMB PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

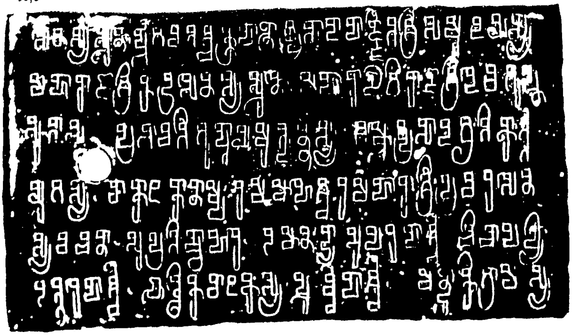
i



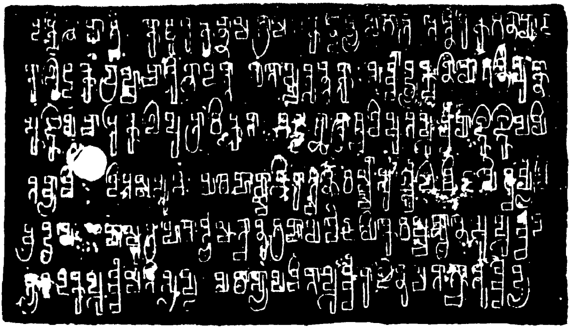
ii,a



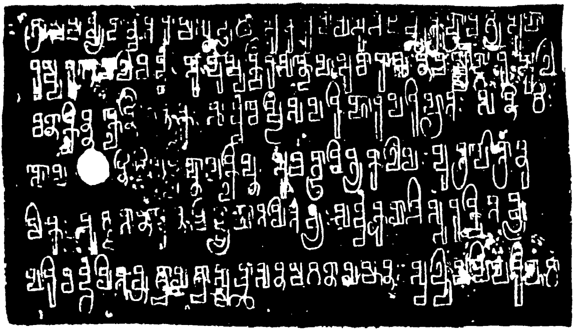
ii,b



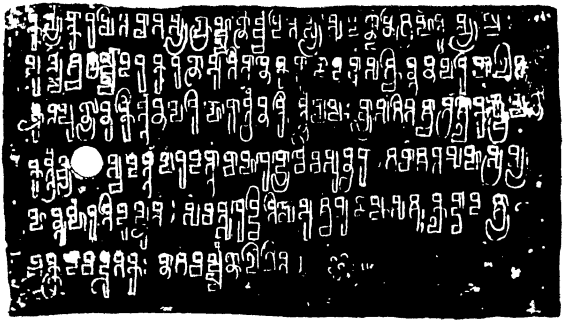
iii,a



iii b



ii



24 त्या(त्त्या) उदकपूर्व्वमतिसृष्ट [।*] यथास्योपचिता[1] पूर्व्वराजानुमताञ्चातुर्व्वेद्य-

Third Plate Second Side

25 ग्राममर्य्यादान्वितरामस्तद्यथा[2] अकरदायि[3] अभटच्छत्र[4]प्रावेश्य[ ] अपा-
26 रम्परगोबलवर्द्द[ ][5] अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोह[*] अवा(चा)रासेनचर्म्माङ्गार[*] अल-
27 वणक्लिन्नक्लेनीखनक[6] सर्व्ववेष्टि[7]सपरिहारपरिहृत सनिधि
28 सोपनिधि[*] सक्लिप्तोपाक्लिप्त[ ][8] आचन्द्रादित्यकालि(ली)य पुत्रपौत्रानु[गा*]-
29 मिक भुञ्जता(तो) न केनचिद्व्याघातयितव्य सर्व्वक्र(क्रि)याभिस्सरक्षितव्य [*]
30 परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्चा(श्च) [।*] यश्चास्मच्छासनमगणयमान स्वल्पामपि परिबाधा

Fourth Plate

31 कुर्य्यात्कारयित वा[9] तस्य ब्राम्हणैर्व्वेदितस्य सदण्ड निग्रह कुर्य्याम ॥
32 अस्मिश्च धर्म्मादरकरणे अतीतानेकराजदत्ता सञ्चिन्तनपरिपालन[10]
33 कृतपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्त्थं न कीर्त्तयाम [।*] व्यासगि(गी)तश्चात्र श्लोकःप्रमाणी-
34 कर्त्तव्य[ ] [।*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा हरेद्यो वै वसुन्धरा[म्*]। गवा शतसहस्रस्य
35 हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृत(तम्)[11] ।[।१॥*] सवत्सरे द्वितीये अश्वयुज[12]मासशुक्लद्वादश्या(श्यां) ।[13]
36 चक्क्रदेवदूतक[14] नागवर्म्मणा लिखित[म्][15] ॥*॥

TRANSLATION

Scen. Success ! Hail ! From **Nandivardhana**—

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākāṭakas**, who is a fervent devotee of Mahēśvara, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the *Kṛita-yuga* (Golden Age) (*on the earth*), who was born of **Prabhāvatiguptā**, the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta**, and who is the son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Rudrasēna (II)**, who acquired an abundance of prosperity by the grace of the Divine (Lord) Chakrapāni (Vishnu), and who[16] was the son of the illustrious **Pṛithivīshēṇa (I)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākāṭakas**, who was intensely devoted to (*the god*) Mahēśvara, who was endowed with truthfulness, straightforwardness, compassion, heroism, valour, political wisdom, modesty, high-mindedness, intelligence, devotion to worthy persons, and with the state of being a righteous conqueror, purity of mind, and such other qualities, who had sons and grandsons and a continuous supply of treasure and army which had been accumulating for a hundred years, who conducted himself like Yudhishṭhira, and who was the son of the illustrious **Rudrasēna (I)**, the *Mahārāja* of the Vākātakas and the son of

[1] Read -स्योचिता-
[2] Read -मर्य्यादा वितराम-
[3] Read अकरदायी.
[4] Read -च्छात्र - as in other Vākātaka grants
[5] Read -बलीवर्द्द-
[6] Read -किण्वक्रेणिखनक
[7] Read -विष्टि-
[8] Read सक्लृप्तोपक्लृप्त
[9] Read -त्कारयेद्वा
[10] Read -राजदत्तसञ्चिन्तनपरिपालन
[11] Metre *Anushtubh.*
[12] Read आश्वयुज-
[13] This mark of punctuation is superfluous
[14] Read चक्रदेवदूतक
[15] There is a floral design between these two sets of *dandas*
[16] *i e* Rudrasēna II

Gautamīputra, who was intensely devoted to (*the god*) Svāmi-Mahābhairava, who was the daughter's son of the illustrious **Bhavanāga,** the *Mahārāja* of the **Bhāraśivas,** whose royal family was created by Śiva, who was greatly pleased by (*their*) carrying the *linga* of Śiva like a load placed on (*their*) shoulder, and who were besprinkled on their head with the pure water of the (*river*) Bhāgīrathī that had been obtained by their valour,) who[1] was the son of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (I),** the *Mahārāja* of the Vākātakas, the *Samrāt* (Universal Monarch), who performed the Agnishtōma, Āptōryāma, Ukthya, Shōḍaśin, Atirātra, Vājapēya, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra and four Aśvamēdhas, and who was of the Vishnuvriddha *gōtra*

(Line 17) The village named **Kōthuraka** situated in the *āhāra* of **Supratishṭha,** which (*is*) to the west of the river **Umā,** to the north of **Chiñchāpallī,** to the east of **Bōnthikavāṭaka** (*and*) to the south of **Maṇḍukigrāma,** has been donated (*by Us*) to the *Brahmachārin* (*named*) **Kāluṭṭaka,** who has performed a *gaṇa-yāga* and who belongs to the Taittirīya *śākhā*

(Line 20) Wherefore, Our officials of noble birth, who are employed by the orde of the *Sarvādhyaksha* (General Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (*Our*) command, and (*Our*) soldiers and policemen[2] should be directed by the (*following*) commanc which is already well-known (*to them*) —

"Be it known to you that in order to increase Our religious merit, life, power victory and prosperity, to secure Our well-being in this world and the next and to obtai blessings for Ourself, We have given here in (*Our*) victorious place of religious worship, witl the pouring out of water, (*this village*) as a gift not previously made

And We grant the following exemptions which are incidental to a village bestowec on a Brāhmana proficient in the four *Vēdas* and are appropriate, as approved by forme kings —It is not to pay taxes, it is not to be entered by soldiers and policemen; it does no entitle (*the State*) to customary cows and bulls[3], it does not (*also*) entitle it to (*royalties on* flowers and milking, it is exempt from (*the obligation to provide*) grass, hides as seats an charcoal (*to touring royal officers*)[4], it is exempt from (*royalties* on) the purchase of fermentin liquors and the digging of salt[5], it is free from all kinds of forced labour, it is donated togethe with (*the right to*) hidden treasures and deposits (*and*) together with major and minor taxes[6] it is to be enjoyed as long as the sun and the moon (*will endure*) and it is to follow the successio of sons and son's sons None should cause an obstruction while (*the donee or his successo* is enjoying it (*This grant*) should be preserved and increased by all means. And whoeve disregarding Our order, will himself cause or make (*others*) cause even the slightest obstruc tion, upon him, when complained against by the Brāhmanas, We will inflict punishme together with a fine"

(Line 32) In showing thus Our regard to religion, We, in order to avoid mentic

---

[1] D R Bhandarkar suggested that *sūnōh sūnōh* in line 3 refers to Gautamīputra, who succeed Pravarasēna I The construction is no doubt faulty It would be better to read *Gautamīputra- putras* as in No 13, line 9 There is no doubt that Gautamīputra did not reign See the absence of the ti *Vākāṭakānām Mahārāja* in his case For the probable reason for the faulty construction, see *Ind Cu* Vol XI, pp 232 f

[2] See above, p 9, n 1

[3] Fleet translated, 'It does not carry with it (*the right to*) cows and bulls in succession of productic and remarked that the interpretation here was not quite certain Perhaps, the right to demand t first calf of a cow is referred to here

[4] See above, p 9, n 2

[5] See above, p 9, n 3

[6] See above, p 9, n 5

of the meritorious deeds already done, do not refer to (*Our*) care and protection of the grants of many past kings

And the following verse sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as an authority on this point:—

(*Here occurs an imprecatory verse*)

(Line 35) (*This charter has been written*) by **Nāgavarman** on the **twelfth** (*lunar day*) of the **bright** (*fortnight*) of the month **Āśvayuja** in the **second** (*regnal*) **year, Chakradēva** being the **Dūtaka.**

BĒLŌRĀ PLATES (SETS A AND B) OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates were discovered in the possession of Mr N H Jane of **Bēlōrā,** a villa[
ın the Ārvī *tahsıl* of the Wardhā Distrıct, which ıs sıtuated on the left bank of tl
Wardhā, about 6 miles south by east of Mōrsī They were edıted by me wi
facsımıles ın the *Epıgraphıa Indıca,* Vol XXIV, pp 260 f They are edited here from tl
same facsımıles.

The four **copper-plates** obtaıned from the owner were, on examınatıon, found to fa
into two sets of two plates each, called hereafter Set A and Set B Each set original
consisted of three plates, but the last plate of Set A and the first one of Set B are not fort
comıng now The first plate of Set A is inscribed on one sıde only, and all the other plat
on both the sides The plates of Set A are slıghtly larger ın size and heavier ın weig
than those of Set B The former measure 9 9″ by 4 9″, and weıgh 67½″ *tōlās,* whıle t
latter measure 9 6″ by 4 8″ each, and weigh 64 *tōlās* About 2″ from the mıddle of the prop
rıght of each plate there ıs a round hole ½″ ın diameter for the rıng which orıgınally hc
together the plates of each set, but neither the rings nor the seals whıch must have been co
nected wıth them are now forthcoming All the plates are ın an excellent state of preserv
tion The letters are deeply cut and some of them show through on the other sic
especıally ın the case of the first plate When carefully examıned, the grants appear
to be palımpsests, all the plates showıng here and there clear traces of earlier letters whi
were beaten ın before the present charters were ıncısed on them These earlier lett
were box-headed and of the same type as those which were later engraved in their pla
So the earlıer charters undoubtedly belong to the same period As theır letters have bc
almost everywhere carefully beaten in, it ıs not now possible to say who ıssued them, wl
they recorded and why they were cancelled

As stated above, both the inscriptıons are ıncomplete. The preserved writıng
the first one, which has lost its concluding part, contains 18 lınes, and that of the secor
of which the ınitıal portıon ıs missıng, 24 lınes The **characters** of both are of the b
headed varıety and resemble ın a general way those of the other grants of Pravarasēna
The only pecuharıty worth notıcıng ıs the use of the looped *t* In both the sets, *t* appe
in the looped and unlooped forms, for ınstances of the former, see *yatō-* ın line 14 of Set
and *vıdıtam–* ın lıne 17 of Set B, and for those of the latter, notice *Shōdashy-Atırātra-* in l
1 of Set A and *atīt-* in line 25 of Set B The subscrıpt *t* ıs usually looped and to dıstıngu
it from *n* ıts loop elongated, see e g *Kārttayuga-* in line 12 and *bhuktı* in line 13 of Set A.

The **language** ıs Sanskrıt The exısting portıon of Set A is wholly ın prose; that of
B is also ın prose except for two benedıctıve and ımprecatory verses ın lınes 27-29 T
orthography of both the sets shows the same pecuharıtıes, *vız*, (1) the vowel *rı* is used fo
and *vıce versa,* see *pautrınah* and *Prıthıvīsēnasya* ın lıne 9 of both the sets. In *vıshṛıta,* l
16 of Set B, the vowel *ṛı* ıs used for *ru* (2) Sımılarly, *lı* ıs used for the vowel *lı* ın
klıpt-ōpaklıpa ın line 22 of Set B (3) The palatal *ś* ıs used for the dental *s* ın *Śūryya-*
lıne 14 of Set A (3) The consonant followıng *r* and that precedıng *r* and *y* are doubl
see e g *abhıvarddhamāna-* ın lıne 8 and *sarvvādddhyaksha* ın lınes 14-15 of both the sets a
vıkkrama ın lıne 7 of Set A Besıdes, both the sets show such mıstakes as the use of the short
the long vowel, ungrammatıcal forms of words, etc

Both the sets of plates were issued by **Pravarasēna II** of the **Vākāṭaka dynasty.** His genealogy is traced here from **Pravarasēna I** exactly as in the preceding Jāmb plates, his maternal grandfather Chandragupta II being called **Dēvagupta.** The plates of set A, the record on which begins with *drishtam,* were issued from **Nandivardhana.** The place of issue in the case of those of Set B is unknown owing to the loss of its first plate The former record the grant of the village **Mahalla-Lāta** in the **Asi** *bhukti,* which was situated in the *mārga* (subdivision) of **Śailapura,** while the latter register the donation of two villages, *viz*, **Dīrghadraha** in the **Pākkaṇarāshṭra** and **Mahallama-Lāṭa.** Of these latter villages, the second is plainly identical with the village Mahalla-Lāta of Set A as it is specified exactly like it The grant recorded in Set B is, therefore, later than that of Set A The donee of both the grants was the same viz , **Sūryasvāmin** of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and Taittirīya *śākhā,* who was a resident of the place **Pravarēśvara-shaḍviṁśati-vāṭaka.** Both the grants were, again, made at the victorious place of religious worship (*vaijayika-dharma-sthāna*) for the increase of religious merit, life, strength, victory and fortune of the donor The date of the first record is missing, but that of the second is given at the end The latter was written, while **Chitravarman** was the *Sēnāpati,* on the **thirteenth tithi** of the **bright fortnight of Kārttika** in the **eleventh** regnal year

As stated above, the second set of plates records the grant of two villages, one of which had already been given by the same king to the same donee by the first set Why it was found necessary to include the village again in the second grant is not known Cases of the issue of a fresh charter recording again a previously made gift are indeed not unknown; but in such cases the circumstances which necessitated the issue of a fresh charter such as a foreign invasion or the loss or damage of the earlier charter by fire etc , are generally specified[1] No such reasons are given in the present case. In fact, both the charters purport to have been granted by the same king and the interval between their dates could not have been more than ten years This therefore raises the question if the second charter, or at least the second plate of it which records the grant of two villages, is a forgery[2]. In favour of such a supposition may be adduced the circumstance that the writing on the second plate of Set B begins and ends with the same words as that on the second plate of Set A, so that the former plate could have been easily substituted for the latter It may, however, be pointed out that there are no other circumstances suggesting such a forgery As shown above, both the plates of Set B are smaller in size than those of Set A so that not one but two plates must have been so substituted But there was apparently no need to replace the third plate of the first grant Again, the similar formation of letters and the occurrence of the same orthographical peculiarities and grammatical mistakes in both the records make it highly probable that both the grants were written by the same clerk in the Secretariat of the Vākātakas The mention of Chitravarman as *Sēnāpati* in Set B is another point in favour of the genuineness of that set, for, from the Chammak plates of Pravarasēna II we learn that Chitravarman held that office till at least the 18th year of

---

[1] See e g. the Barah copper-plate of Bhōjadēva, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIX, p 18, and the Nidhanpur copper-plates of Bhāskaravarman, *ibid*, Vol XII, p. 76.

[2] Dr N P Chakravarti has suggested that the grant of two villages in Plate II of Set B was found to be wrong on examination and that this plate was meant to be replaced by Plate II of Set A which was subsequently engraved He has drawn attention to the ornamental mark found after *atisrishtah* in Plate II of Set A, which, according to him, was intended to prevent any unauthorized addition in the blank space left at the end of that line He has not, however, offered any satisfactory explanation for the circumstance that the unwanted plate was not removed or cancelled

Pravarasēna II's reign The second set does not, therefore, appear to be spurious The reason why it includes the name of a previously donated village seems to be that the Brāhmana donee probably made a request to the king to give him a consolidated charter for the two grants

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grants, **Nandivardhana** has already been shown to be identical with Nandardhan (or Nagardhan) near Rāmtēk in the Nāgpur District **Mahalla-Lāta** or **Mahallama-Lāṭa** which seems to mean the larger Lāta may be represented by Lādkī or Ghāt Lādkī in the Mōrsī *tālukā* of the Amarāvatī District, about 18 miles north by west of Bēlōrā[1] Mahalla-Lāta lay in the *mārga* of **Śailapura** which may be identical with Sālbardi[2] situated in the midst of hills about 15 miles east of Lādkī **Asi,** the chief town of the *bhukti* (subdivision) in which Mahalla-Lāta was situated, may be identical with Ashtī which lies only 10 miles south of Bēlōrā **Dīrghadraha** is probably Dīghī on the left bank of the Wardhā, about 30 miles south of Ashtī The name of **Pravarēśvara-shaḍviṁśativātaka** which is mentioned in both the grants as the home of the donee seems to indicate that it was the chief village in a group of twenty-six villages Perhaps it received this name from a shrine of Śiva called *Pravarēśvara* installed by Pravarasēna I and named after himself[3] This place as well as **Pākkana,** the headquarters of the *rāshṭra* (division) in which Dīrghadraha, one of the donated villages, was situated, cannot be traced now

TEXT[4]

Set A

First Plate

1 द्रिष्टम्[5] [।*] सिद्धम् स्वस्ति [।*] ना(न)न्दिवर्द्धनादग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्यतिरात्र-वाजपेयबृहस्पतिसव-

2 साद्यस्क(स्क्र)चतुरश्य(श्व)मेधयाजिन[6] विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्राट्[7] वाकाटकानाम्महाराज-श्रि(श्री)प्रवर-

3 सेनस्य सूनो[*] सूनो अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य असभारसन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गो-

4 द्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवशानाम्पराक्क्रमाधिगतभागीरत्थ्यमलजल-

5 मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानाम्भारशिवानाम्महाराजश्रि(श्री)भवनागदौहित्रस्य

6 गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य ।[8] वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनोरत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य

Second Plate First side

7 सत्यार्ज्जवकारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्क्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यश्रीमत्व[9]धीम[त्त्व*]पात्रगतभक्तित्व-

8 धर्म्मविजयित्वम[नो]नैर्म्मल्यादिगुणै[*] समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशद-

9 ण्डसाधनस[न्ता]नपुत्रपौतृ(त्रि)ण युधिष्वि(ष्ठि)रवृत्ते[ ] वाक(का)टकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रिथिवीसे-

10 नस्य[10] सु(सू)नोर्भगवतश्चक्क्रपाणेश्प्रसादोपा[र्ज्जि]तश्रीसमुदयस्य ।[8] महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेन-

---

[1] There is another small village called Lādgaon on the left bank of the Wardhā, about 20 miles south of Bēlōrā

[2] Sālbardī is an ancient place containing some old caves and hot springs

[3] Compare the name Vankō-Tummāna of the first capital of the Kalachuris in Chhattisgadh (*Ind. Hist Quart*, Vol IV, p 34). It was so called because of the shrine of Vankēśvara which it contained It may be noted in this connection that the temple of Pravarēśvara is mentioned in line 1 of No. 14, below.

[4] From the original plates and facsimiles facing pp 264 and 266 in *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIV.

[5] Read दृष्टम्

[6] Here and in many places below, the rules of *Sandhi* have not been observed

[7] Read सम्राजो

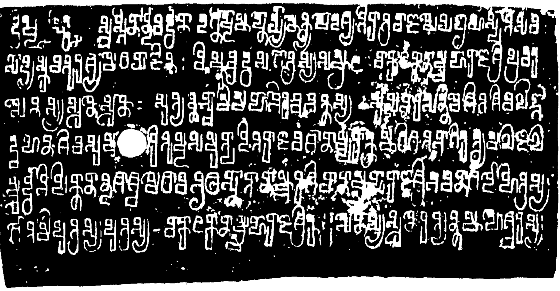
[8] This sign of punctuation is superfluous

[9] Read श्रीमत्त्व. This word does not occur in other Vākātaka grants.

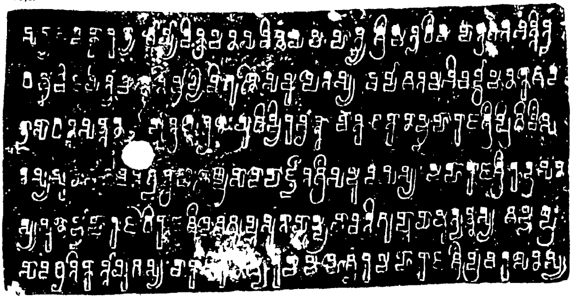
[10] Read श्रीपृथिवीषेणस्य

BĒLŌRĀ PLATES (SET A) OF PRAVARASĒNA II

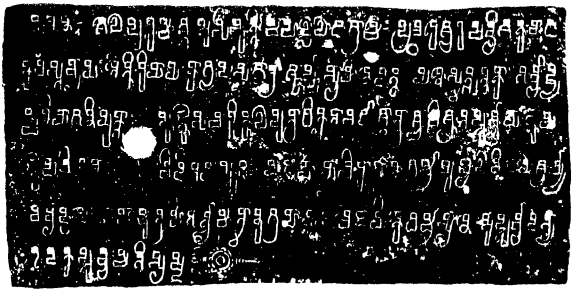
i



ii,a



ii,b



11 स्य सु(सू)नोर्म्महाराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाम्प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य शम्भोः प्र-
12 सादधृतिकार्त्तयुगस्य[1] वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य

Second Plate: Second side

13 वचनात् [।] शेलपुरमार्ग्गे[2] असिभुक्तिमहल्ललाटग्रामे (म)[3] प्रवरेश्वरषद्विशकवाट-
14 कवस्तव्याय[4] ।। तै [त्ति][5]रीयाय । काश्यपसगोत्रशूर्य्यस्वामिने[6] दत्त [।*] यतोस्मत्सत्त(न्त)-
का सर्व्वा[ध्य]-
15 क्षनिया(यो)गनियुक्ता. आज्ञासचारि[7]कुलपुत्राधिकृता भटाश्छात्राश्च विश्रुतपूर्व्वयाज्ञय(या)-
16 ज्ञापयितव्या [।*] विदितमस्तु व यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्म्मायुब्बल[8]विजयैश्वर्य्य-
17 व(वि)वृद्धये ।[9] इहामुत्रहितार्त्थमात्मानुग्रहाय ।।[9] वैजयिके धर्मस्थाने अपूर्व्वदत्या(त्त्या)
18 उदकपूर्व्वमतिसृष्ट [10] [।।*]

Set B

Second Plate First side

7 [11]सत्यार्ज्जवकारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म(त्म्य)धीमत्व(त्त्व)पात्रगतभक्तित्वधर्म्म-
8 विजयित्वमनोनैम(र्म)ल्यादिगुण[*] समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसा-
9 धनसन्तानपुत्रपौतृ(त्रि)ण युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्व्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रिथिविसेनस्य[12]
10 सूनोभ(र्भ)गवत [13]श्चक्रपाणेःप्रसादोपार्ज्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य म्म(म)हाराजश्रीरुद्र-
11 सेनस्य सूनोर्म्महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाः[14]प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य-
12 शम्भोःप्रसाव(द)धृतिकार्त्तयुगस्य[15] ।[16] वाकाटकानाम्परमाहेश्वरमहे(हा)राजश्रीप्रवरसे-

Second Plate Second side

13 त(न)स्य वचना[त्*] । पाक्कणराष्ट्रे दीर्ग्घद्रहन्नाम[17] ग्राम [*] । शैलपुरमार्ग्गे असिभुक्ति-
14 महल्लमलाटग्रामश्च एव ग्रामद्वय ।।[16] प्रवरश्वरषद्विषतिवाटकवस्तव्य[18]-
15 तैतिरिय[19]काश्यपसगोत्र[सु][20]र्य्यस्वामिन दत्त[म्*] [।] यतोस्मत्सन्तका सर्व्वद्धचक्ष[21]नियोग-
16 नियुक्ता आज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भटाश्छात्राश्च विषृ(श्रु)तपूर्व्वयाज्ञाज्ञा[22]-
17 पयितव्या विदितमस्तु व [।*] यथै(थे)हास्माभिरात्मनो धर्म्मायुब्बंलविजय(यै)श्वर्य्यविवृद्धये । इह

---

1 Read -धृतकार्त्तयुगस्य
2 Read शैलपुर as in line 13 of Set B below
3 In Set B the name of this village occurs in the form महल्लमलाटग्राम
4 Perhaps प्रवरेश्वरषड्विंशतिवाटकवास्तव्याय is the correct reading
5 The subscript *t* of *tti* is not completely engraved,
6 Read सूर्य्यस्वामिने
7 Read आज्ञासञ्चारि-
8 Read धर्म्मायुर्ब्बल-
9 This mark of punctuation is superfluous
10 An ornamental figure is incised here
11 As the first plate, like the others of this set, must have contained six lines, I have numbered the first line on this side as 7
12 Read श्रीपृथिवीषेणस्य
13 This *visarga* is superfluous
14 Read सुताया
15 Read धृतकार्त्तयुगस्य
16 This sign of punctuation is superfluous
17 Read दीर्ग्घद्रह नाम
18 Read प्रवरेश्वरषड्विंशतिवाटकवास्तव्य-
19 Read तैत्तिरीय-
20 The engraver first incised षु and then changed it into सु Read सूर्य्यस्वामिने.
21 Read सर्व्वाद्ध्यक्ष-
22 Read पूर्व्वयाज्ञयाज्ञा-

18 मुत्रहितार्त्थमात्मानुग्रह(हा)य वैजैके[1] धर्म्मस्थाने अपूर्व्वदत्या[2] उदकपूर्व्वमति[सृ]ष्ट [3] [।*]

Third Plate: First side

19 उचिताश्चास्य[4] पूर्व्वराजानुमता चातुर्वैद्यग्राममर्य्यादान्वितरामस्तद्यथा[5] अकरदायि
20 अभटच्छ(च्छा)त्रप्रावेश्य[म्*] अपारम्परगोबलवर्द्द [6] अपुष्पक्षिर[7]सन्दोह[म्*] अचारासनच-
21 र्म्माङ्गार[म्*] अलवणक्लिन्नक्लेनिखनक [8] सर्व्ववेष्टिपरिहारपरिहृत [9] सनिधि [10] सोप-
22 निधि [11] अक्लिप्तोपक्लिप[12] अचन्द्रादित्यकालीय[ ][13] पुत्रपौत्रानुगामिक [14] भुञ्जता(तो)
23 न केनचिद्व्याघात[ऽक]र्त्तव्य सर्व्वक्र(क्रि)याभिस्स(स्स)रक्षितव्यश्परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च । यश्च-
(श्चा)स्मच्छा-
24 सनमगणयमान स्वल्पामपि परिबाधान्कुर्य्यात्कारयिर वा[15] अस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य

Third Plate Second side

25 सदण्डनिग्रह(ह) कुर्य्याम।। अस्मि(स्मि)श्च धर्म्मादरकरणे अतीतानेकराजदत्तासञ्चिन्त्यन[16]परिपा-
26 लन(न)कृतपुन्या(ण्या)नुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्त्थ(र्त्थं) न कीर्त्तयाम [।*]व्यासगीतौ चात्र श्लोकौ प्रमाणी-
27 कर्त्तव्यौ । स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताव्वा[17] हरेद्वा[18] वै वसुन्धरा[म्।*] गवा(वा) शतसहस्रस्य ।[19] हन्तुर्ह-
28 रति दुष्कृत[म्*] ।। [।।*] षष्ठि[20] वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिद[*] । आच्छेत्ता चा-
29 नुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[21] [।।२।।] सव्वत्सरे एकादशमे[22] १० १ कार्त्तिकशुक्लपक्ष-
30 त्रयोदश्या[23] १० ३ सेन(ना)पतौ चित्रवर्म्मा(र्म्म)णि ना[24] लिखित[म्*] ।[25]

TRANSLATION

SET A

Seen. Success! Hail! From **Nandivardhana**—

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarsēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākāṭakas**, who is a fervent devotee of Mahēśvara, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the *Krita-yuga*

---

[1] Read वैजयिके

[2] Read अपूर्व्वदत्त्या

[3] Read -मतिसृष्टम् so as to agree with ग्रामद्वय in line 14 above.

[4] Read उचिता चास्य

[5] Read -मर्य्यादा वितराम-

[6] Read अपारम्परगोबलीवर्द्दम् In this and some expressions below, the writer has blindly copied the masculine form of the usual draft referring to the donation of one village (ग्राम). Here the neuter form is required so as to agree with ग्रामद्वयम्

[7] Read अपुष्पक्षीर-

[8] Read -किण्वक्रेणिखनकम्

[9] Read सर्वविष्टिपरिहारपरिहृतम्

[10] Read सनिधि

[11] Read सोपनिधि

[12] Read सक्लृप्तोपक्लृप्तम्

[13] Read आचन्द्रादित्य कालीयम्

[14] Read -गामिकम्

[15] Read परिबाधा कुर्य्यात्कारयेद्वा

[16] Read -राजदत्तसञ्चिन्तन

[17] Read परदत्ता वा

[18] Read हरेद्यो

[19] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[20] Read षष्टि

[21] Metre *Anushtubh*

[22] Read सवत्सरे एकादशे

[23] Read त्रयोदश्या

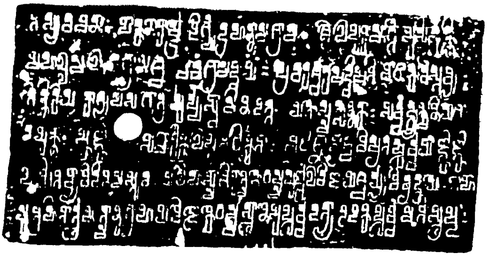
[24] Perhaps मणिना was intended, but the writer in copying the draft omitted the *aksharas* मणि by haplography.

[25] There is an ornamental mark after this followed by two *dandas* and a horizontal stroke.

BĒLŌRĀ PLATES (SET B) OF PRAVARASĒNA II

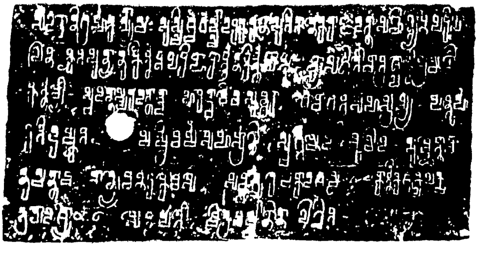
ii,a

ii,b



iii,a

iii,b



(Golden Age) (*on the earth*), who was born of **Prabhāvatīguptā,** the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta,** and who is the son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Rudrasēna II**—

(*For translation of lines* 1-10, *see above, pp* 13-14.)

(Line 13) The village **Mahalla-lāta** in the **Asi** *bhukti* in the *mārga* of **Śailapura** has been donated (*by Us*) to **Sūryasvāmin** of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and Taittirīya (*śākhā*) who resides in the (*village*) **Pravarēśvara-shadvimśati-vātaka**[1]

Wherefore, Our officials of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the *Sarvādhyaksha* (General Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (*Our*) command, and (*Our*) Soldiers and Policemen should be directed by the (*following*) command which is already well-known (*to them*) :—

" Be it known to you that in order to increase Our religious merit, life, power, victory and prosperity, to secure Our well-being in this world and the next and to obtain blessings for Ourself, We have given (*this village*) as a gift not previously made, with the pouring out of water, in (*Our*) victorious place of religious worship

(*The rest of the grant is not forthcoming*)

SET B

(Line 12) By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II),** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas,** .

(*For translation of lines* 7 *to* 12, *see above, pp* 13-14)

The two villages (*viz*) the village named **Dirghadraha** in the **Pākkaṇa** *rāshtra* and the village **Mahallama-lāta** in the **Asi** *bhukti* in the *mārga* of **Śailapura,** have been donated (*by Us*) to **Sūryasvāmin** of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and the Taittirīya *śākhā*, who resides in the **Pravarēśvara-shadvimśati-vātaka.**

(*For translation of lines* 15 *to* 25, *see above, p* 14)

(Line 26) And the following two verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as an authority on this point —

(*Here follow two benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(Line 29) (*This charter*) was written by **[Mani], Chitravarman** being the *Sēnāpati*, on the **thirteenth—10** (*and*) 3—(*lunar day*) in the **bright fortnight** of **Kārttika** in the **eleventh—10** (*and*) **1**—(*regnal*) **year.**

[1] This seems to be a territorial division of twenty-six villages named after a shrine in honour of Śiva under the name of Pravarēśvara, apparently built by Pravarasēna I See below, p 63

No 6: Plate VI

CHAMMAK PLATES PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates were found in about 1868 while ploughing a field at **Chammak** (ancient Charmānka), a village about four miles south-west of Achalpur in the Amarāvatī District of Vidarbha They were first brought to notice in 1879 by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, who published his reading of the text in Pamphlet No 9 of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, pp 54 f They were next edited, with a translation, by Dr Buhler, first in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol IV, pp 116 f, and again, with facsimiles of the plates, but not of the seal, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XII, pp 239 Finally, they were published, with facsimiles and a translation, by Dr Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp 235 f The original plates, which were obtained by Major H Szczepanski, are not forthcoming now. The record is, therefore, edited here from Dr Fleet's lithographs.

'The **plates,** of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are seven in number, each measuring from 7⅝″ to 7½″ by from 3½″ to 3⅝″ They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims A few of the letters on the first and last plates have been damaged by rust, but the rest of the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. . Towards the top of each plate there is a hole for a ring to connect them The ring is circular, about ¼″ thick and 3⅝″ in diameter It was not soldered into the socket of a seal; but the ends of it were flattened off, as if to overlap and fasten with a pin or bolt; there is, however, no hole in them to show that they were ever actually secured in this way. The **seal** is a flat disc of copper, rising slightly towards the centre, about ¼″ thick and 2⅞″ in diameter To the centre of the back of it there is soldered a small ring, by which it slides on the larger ring mentioned above. Across the surface of the seal there is the legend in four lines . The weight of the seven plates is about 6 lbs 14 oz. and of the two rings and the seal, about 14½ oz , total, 7 lbs 12½ oz [1]' The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, but except in lines 58 and 59, the boxes at the top of the letters are scooped out hollow They include the **numerical symbols** for 8 and 10 in line 60, and for 8000 in line 19 The sign of the *upadhmānīya* occurs in lines 13, 16 and 32 The following peculiarities of the characters may be noted.—The medial *ī* (long) is shown by two curves turned in opposite directions, see *śrī-Bhavanāga-*, line 7; but in *Gautamīputrasya* in line 8, the vowel is indicated by a single curve turned to the right; the medial *au* is bipartite; see *dauhitra-*, lines 7-8, *t* is generally unlooped and *n* is looped, but in many places the two letters are confused, see *atyatna-* for *atyanta*, line 9 and *sannāna-* for *santāna-* in line 12 The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for the legend on the seal and two benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 36-39, the whole record is in verse As regards **orthography,** we may note the reduplication of a consonant before and after *r* as in *kkrama-*, in line 2 on the seal and *saty-ārjjava-* in line 9, that of the consonant preceding *y* is *Bhāgīratthy-*, line 6 and of *v* after an *anusvāra* in *samvvatsarē,* line 60

Like other complete grants of the Vākātakas, the present record opens with the word *dṛishtam* 'seen' The plates were issued by *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna II** of the **Vākātaka dynasty** from **Pravarapura.** His genealogy is given here exactly as in the preceding two grants, his maternal grandfather being called **Dēvagupta.** The **object** of the inscription is to record the

[1] *CII*, Vol III, pp 235-36

grant, by Pravarasēna II, of the vıllage **Charmānka** sıtuated on the bank of the **Madhunadī** in the *rājya* (dıvision) of **Bhōjakaṭa** whıch consısted of 8000 *nıvartanas* by the royal measure The **donees** were a thousand Brāhmanas[1] The grant was made at the request of **Kōndarāja,** the son of **Śatrughnarāja.** This Kōndarāja ıs also mentıoned ın lıne 45 of the Pattan plates The grant is dated on the **thirteenth tithi** of the **bright fortnight** of **Jyēstha** ın **the 18th regnal year.** The *Sēnāpatı* was **Chitravarman.** From the Belōrā plates, Set B, we know that Chıtravarman was holdıng the same post seven years earlier ın the 11th regnal year of Pıavarasēna II

As foı the **localities** mentioned ın the pıesent grant, **Pravarapura,** whıch finds a mention here for the first tıme, was evidently the later capıtal of Pıavarasēna II Hıs earlıer capıtal was Nandıvardhana from which hıs two eaılıer grants were issued Pravarapura was evidently founded by Pravarasēna II and named after himself He appears to have shıfted hıs seat of government there some tıme after hıs eleventh regnal year The exact locatıon of Pravarapura was long uncertaın, but the recent dıscovery of several sculptures of the Gupta-Vākāṭaka perıod at Pavnāı, 6 miles from Wardhā, has rendered it probable that the vıllage marks the sıte of ancıent Pravarapura **Charmānka** ıs, of course, Chammak where the plates were dıscoveıed The **Madhunadī** on the bank of which ıt was sıtuated is now called Chandrabhāgā. **Bhōjakata,** the headquarters of the dıvısıon (*rājya*) ın which Charmānka was ıncluded, is an ancient city It was founded by Rukmın, the bıother-in-law of Krıshna When the latter abducted hıs sıster Rukmınī, he vowed that he would not ıeturn to Kundınapura, the capital of Vıdarbha, unless he killed Krishna and ıescued his sister As he dıd not succeed ın thıs, he refused to return to Kundınapura, but founded a new cıty named Bhōjakata where he fixed hıs resıdence[2] Bhōjakata is usually identified wıth Bhātkulī, a vıllage about 8 mıles from Amarāvatī where there ıs still a temple of Rukmın Some ımages of Jaın Tīrthankaras weıe also dıscovered there several years ago

TEXT[3]

Fııst Plate

1 दृष्ट (ष्टम्) [।।*] स्वस्ति [।*] प्रवरपुरादग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्यातिरात्र[4]-

2 वाजपेयबृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्कचतुरश्वमेधयाजिन

3 र्विष्णुवृद्ध[5]सगोत्रस्य सम्रा[ड्][6] वाकाटकाना महाराज[श्रि](श्री) प्रवरसेनस्य

4 सूनो सूनो अत्यन्त[स्वा]मिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य अ (अ) सभारसन्ति (न्नि) वेशि-

5 तशिवलि[ङ्गो]द्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादि[त]राजव (व) शा-

---

1 Though the Brāhmana donees are saıd to have numbered a thousand, only 49 are actually mentıoned at the end of the record Perhaps they represented others or were the heads of the famılıes It ıs also not unlıkely that the word *sahasra* ıs used ındefinıtely ın the sense of a large number Cf *varsha-sahasra-go-brāhmana* ın lıne 15 of the Junāgadh rock ınscrıptıon of Rudradāman, *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, p 44, and *vasa-sata-sahasāya* ın the Prakrıt grant of Śıvaskandavarman, *ıbıd*, Vol I, p 7

2 Cf अनानीय स्वसार तु रुक्मी मानमदान्वित ।
हीनप्रतिज्ञो नैच्छत्स प्रवेष्टु कुण्डिन पुरम् ।।
विदर्भेषु निवासार्थं निर्ममेऽन्यत्पुर महत् ।
तद्भोजकटमित्येव बभूव भुवि विश्रुतम् ।। *Harıvamśa*, II, 60, 31-32

3 From the plates facıng pp 240-41 ın Fleet's *C I I*, Vol III

4 Read षोडश्यतिरात्र-

5 Read विष्णुवृद्ध-

6 Read सम्राजो

Second Plate: First side

6 नाम्पराक्रमाधिगतभागीरत्थ्या (त्थ्य) मलजलमूर्द्ध्नर्ा (र्द्धा) भिषिक्तानान्दशा-
7 श्वमेधावभृथस्नातानाम्भारशिवाना महाराजश्रीभवनागदौ-
8 हित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकाना महाराजश्रीरुद्रसे-
9 नस्य सूनोरत्यत्न (न्त) माहेश्वरस्य सत्यार्ज्जवकारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्रमन-
10 यविनयमाहात्म्या (त्म्य) धि (धी) मत्व (त्त्व) [1]हा (पा) त्रा (त्र) गतभक्ती (क्ति) त्वधर्म्मवी (वि)-
जयी (यि) त्व-

Second Plate · Second side

11 मनोनैर्म्मा (र्म्म) ल्यादिगुणैस्समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोश-
12 दण्डसाधनसन्ना (न्ता) नपुत्रपौत्रिण युधिष्ठिरवृत्ने (त्ते) र्व्वाकाटका-
13 ना महाराजश्रीपृथिविषेणस्य सूनोर्ब्भगवतश्चक्रपाणेᳶप्रसा-
14 दोपार्ज्जित[2]श्रीसमुदयस्य वाकाटकाना महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेन-
15 [स्य?] सूनोर्म्महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुताया प्रभाव-

Third Plate · First side

16 तिगुप्तायामुत्पन्त (न्न) स्य शम्भोᳶप्रसादधृति (त) कार्त्तयुगस्य-
17 वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचना [त्*]
18 भोजकटराज्ये मधुनदीतटे चर्म्माङ्क[3]नामग्र (ग्रा) म राजमानिकभु (भू) मि-
19 सहस्रैरष्टाभि ८००० शत्र (त्रु) घ्नराजपुत्रकोण्डराजविज्ञा (ज्ञ) प्त्या नानागो-
20 त्रचरणेभ्यो ब्राम्हणेभ्य सहस्राय दत्त [।*]

Third Plate · Second side

21 यतोस्मत्सन्तका[*] सर्व्वाद्ध्यक्षाधियोगनियुक्ता आज्ञासञ्च (चा) रिकुलपुत्राधिकृता
22 भटाच्छा (श्छा) त्राश्च विश्रुतपूर्व्वयाज्ञयाज्ञापयितव्या विदितमस्तु वो यथे-
23 हास्माकम्मनो[4] धर्म्मायुर्ब्बलविजयैश्वर्य्यविवृद्धये इहामुत्रहिता-
24 र्त्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजै (जयि) के धर्म्मस्थाने अपूर्व्वदत्या (त्त्या) उदकपूर्व्व-
25 मतिसृष्ट [।*] अथास्योचिता पूर्व्वराजानुमता चातुर्वैद्यग्राममम-
26 र्य्यादान्वितराम[5]स्तद्यथा अकरदायी[6] अभटच्छ (च्छा) त्रप्रावेश्य[*]

Fourth Plate First side

27 अपारम्परगोबलिवर्द्द[*] अपुम्प (ष्प) क्षीरसन्दोह[*] अच (चा) रा-
28 सनचर्म्माङ्गार[*] अलवणक्लिन्नक्क्रेणिखनक[*] सर्व्ववेष्टिपरि[7]-
29 हारपरीहृत [8] सनिधिस्सोपनिधि सक्लिप्तोपक्लिप्त [9]
30 आचन्द्रादित्यकालीय पुत्रपौत्र (त्रा) नुगमक भुज (भुञ्ज) ता न के-
31 नचिद्व्याघात (त) कर्त्तव्यस्सर्व्वक्क्रियाभिस्स (स्स) रक्षितव्यᳶपर (रि) वर्द्धयि-
32 तव (व्य) श्च [।*] यश्चाय[10] शासनमगणयमानो (न) स्वल्प (ल्पा) मपि [प*]रिबाधां [11]-

[1] Fleet proposed to read माहात्म्याधिकत्व, but it gives no good sense The Pattan plates (No. 13 give धीमत्त्व in line 11

[2] The engraver first incised ज्जि , which he later corrected into ज्जि

[3] The engraver first incised ङ्का and later corrected it into ङ्क

[4] Read यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो

[5] Read -मर्य्यादा वितराम-

[6] The engraver first incised दायै and later corrected it into दायी

[7] Read -विष्टि-

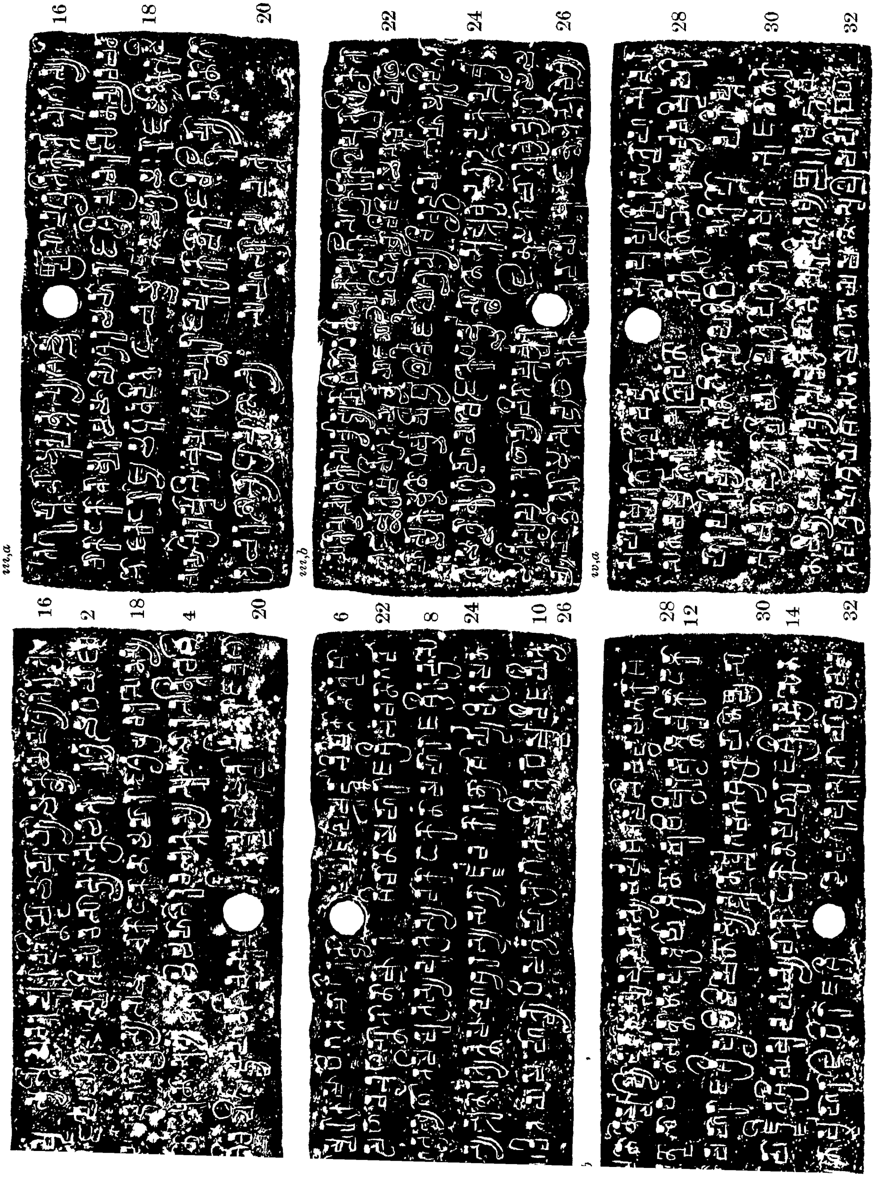
[8] Read -परिहृत

[9] Read सक्लृप्तोपक्लृप्त

[10] Read यश्चेद or यश्चास्मच्छासन as in the Pattan plates (No 13), line 35

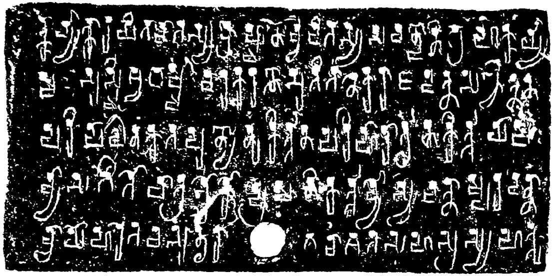
[11] After this word, कुर्य्या- was incised and then cancelled.

CHAMMAK PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II



... THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES (P L O)

iv b

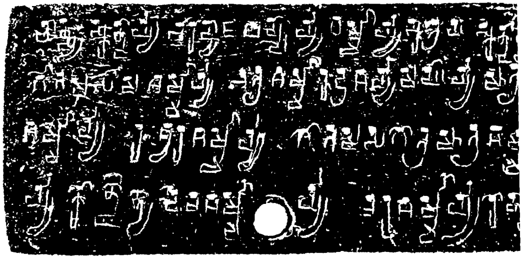


v,a

v,b

vi,a

vi,b



vii

Fourth Plate Second side

33 न्कु(कु) र्य्यात्कारयिता वा[1] तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य सव(द)ण्डनिग्रह कुर्य्या-
34 म ।। अस्मि(स्मि)श्च धर्म्माव(द)रकरणे अति(ती)तानेकराजदत्न(त्त)सञ्चित्न(न्त)न-
35 परिपालनं कृतपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्त्थं न कीर्त्तयाम [।*]
36 व्यासगीतौ चात्र श्लोकौ प्रमानि[2](णी)कर्त्तव्यौ [।*] स्वदत्ना(त्ता)म्परदत्ना(त्ता)
37 व्वा(वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धरा(राम्) । गवा शतसहस्रस्य हत्तु(न्तु)-

Fifth Plate First side

38 र्हरति दुष्कृत(तम्)[3] [।।१।।*] षष्टि वर्षसहस्रानि(णि) स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भू-
39 मिद [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च[4] तान्येव नरके वसेदिति [।।२।।*] श्शा(शा)सन-
40 स्थितिश्चेय ब्राह्मणैरीश्वरैश्चानुपालनीया [।*] तद्यथा राज्ञा स-
41 प्ताङ्गे राज्ये अद्रोहप्रवृन्ता(त्ता)ना [अ*]ब्रह्मघ्नचौरा(र)पारदारिकराजा-
42 पत्थ्यकारिप्रभृति(ती)ना सग्र(ग्रा)म[म*]कुर्व्वंता अन्यग्राम(मे)ष्वन-।।[5]

Fifth Plate Second side

43 पर(रा)द्धाना आचन्द्रादित्यकालीय [।*] अतोन्यथा कुर्व्वंतामनुमोदता वा[6]
44 राज्ञ भूमिच्छेद कुर्व्वन्त (त) अस्तेयमिति [।*] प्रा(प्र)ति[ग्रा[7]]हिणश्चात्र
45 वारनियुत्ता(क्ता) [।*] शाट्यायन गणार्य्यं वात्स्यदेवार्य्यं भारद्वाज-
46 कुमारशर्म्मार्य्यं[*] पाराशर्य्यंगुहशर्म्मा काश्यपदेव(वा)र्य्यं महेश्वरार्य्यं[*][8]
47 मात्रार्य्यं कोण्डिण्य(न्य)रुद्रार्य्यं[*] सोमार्य्यं[*] हरिशर्म्मार्य्यं[*]

Sixth Plate · First side

48 भारद्वाजकुमारश[र्म्मा]र्य्यं[*] कौण्डिण्य(न्य)मा[तृ]शर्म्मा वरशर्म्मा
49 गोण्डशर्म्मा नागशर्म्मा भारद्वा[ज*]शान्तिशर्म्मा रुद्रशर्म्मा वात्स्य
50 भोजकद(दे)वार्य्यं [*] मघशर्म्मा देवशर्म्मा भारद्वाजमोक्षशर्म्मा
51 [ना]गशर्म्मा रेवतिशर्म्मा धर्म्मार्य्यं[*] भारद्वाजशर्म्मार्य्यं[*]
52 नन्दनार्य्यं[*] मूलशर्म्मा ईश्वरशर्म्मा वरशर्म्मा

Sixth Plate Second side

53 वान्स्य[9]स्कन्दार्य्यं[*] भारद्वाजबप्पार्यं[*] धर्म्मार्य्यं[*] आत्रेयस्कन्दार्य्यं[।*]
54 गौतमसोमशर्म्मार्य्यं[*] भतृ(र्तृ)शर्म्मा रुद्रश[र्म्मा]र्य्यं[*] मघार्य्यं[*] मातृ-
55 शर्म्मार्य्यं[*] ईश्वरशर्म्मार्य्यं[*] गौतमसगोत्रमातृशर्म्मा-
56 र्य्यं [*] कौण्डिण्य(न्य)देवशर्म्मार्य्यं[*] वरशर्म्मार्य्यं[*] रोहार्य्यं[*]

Seventh Plate

57 गौतमसगोत्रस्वामिदे[वा*]र्य्यं[*] रेवतिशर्म्मार्य्यं[*]
58 ज्येष्ठशर्म्मार्य्यं[*] शाण्डिल्यकुमारशर्म्मार्य्यं[*] स्वातिशर्म्मा-

---

1 It would be better to read कारयेद्वा

2 The sign of *upadhmānīya* before this *akshara* is cancelled.

3 Metre of this and the next verse *Anushtubh.*

4 Originally च्छ, later corrected into च

5 This mark of punctuation is to be omitted.

6 Originally व्वा, later corrected into वा

7 Originally ग्वा, later corrected into ग्रा

8 This र्य्यं is incised below रा of महेश्वरा-

9 Read वात्स्य-

59 र्य्यं [*] श (शा) टचायनकाण्ड (ण्डा) र्य्यंप्रभृतय [।*] सेनापतौ
60 च्चित्रवर्म्मणि सव्वत्सरेष्टादश (शे) १० ८ ज्येष्ठमासशुक्ल-
61 पक्षत्रयोदश्या (श्या) शासन लिखितमिति ॥

SEAL

1 वाकाटकललामस्य
2 क्क (क्र) मप्राप्तनृपश्रिय [।*]
3 राज्ञःप्रवरसेनस्य
4 शासन रिपुशासन (नम्)[1] [॥*]

TRANSLATION

Seen Hail! From **Pravarapura**—

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākāṭakas** who is a fervent devotee of Mahēśvara, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the *Kṛita-yuga* (Golden Age) (*on the earth*), who was born of **Prabhāvatīguptā** the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrous **Dēvagupta,** and who is the son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Rudrasēna (II)**—

(*For translation of lines* 1 *to* 14, *see above*, *pp* 13-14)

(Line 18) The village named **Charmāṅka** (*consisting of*) eight thousand—8000-(*nivartanas*) of land, according to the royal measure, (*situated*) on the bank of the (*river*) **Madhunadī** in the *rājya* of **Bhōjakaṭa,** has, at the request of **Kōṇḍarāja,** the son of **Śatrughnarāja** been given to a thousand Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras* and *charaṇas.*

(*For translation of lines* 21 *to* 35, *see above*, *pp* 14-15)

(Line 36) The (*following*) two verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as an authority on this point.—

(*Here occur two benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(Line 39). And this condition of the charter should be maintained by the Brāhmaṇas and (*future*) kings —(*This grant shall be enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas*) as long as the sun and the moon will endure, provided that they commit no treason against the kingdom consisting of seven constituents[2] of the (*future*) kings, that they are not found guilty of the murder of Brāhmaṇa, theft, adultery and high treason, etc , that they do not wage war; (*and*) that they do no harm to other villages But if they act otherwise or assent to such acts, the king will commit no theft if he takes the land away (*from them*)

(Line 44) And the recipients (*of the grant*) appointed for the occasion in this respect are (*as follows*) —

Gaṇārya of the Śātyāyana (*gōtra*), Dēvārya of the Vātsya (*gōtra*), Kumāraśarmārya of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*), Guhaśarman of the Pārāśarya (*gōtra*), Dēvārya of the Kāśyapa (*gōtra*), (*and*) Mahēśvarārya (*and*) Mātrārya[3],Rudrārya of the Kauṇḍinya (*gōtra*); Somārya (*and*) Hariśarmārya, Kumāraśarmārya of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*), Matriśarman of the Kauṇḍinya (*gōtra*); (*and*) Varaśarman, Gōṇḍaśarman (*and*) Nāgaśarman, Śāntiśarman of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*), (*and*) Rudraśarman, Bhōjakadēvārya of the Vātsya (*gōtra*), (*and*) Maghaśarman (*and*) Dēvaśarman, Mōkshaśarman of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*), (*and*) Nāgaśarman, Rēvatiśarman

---

[1] Metre *Anushtubh*

[2] These are the king, his ministers, ally,territory, treasure, fortress and army

[3] These two also probably belonged to the same *gōtra* Kāśyapa So also in the following, where no *gōtra* is mentioned, that named before is to be understood

(*and*) Dharmārya; Śarmārya of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*), (*and*) Nandanārya, Mūlaśarman, Īśvaraśarman (*and*) Varaśarman, Skandārya of the Vātsya (*gōtra*); Bappārya of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*), (*and*) Dharmārya, Skandārya of the Ātrēya (*gōtra*); Somaśarmārya of the Gautama (*gōtra*); (*and*) Bhartṛiśarman, Rudraśarmārya, Maghārya, Mātriśarmārya (*and*) Īśvaraśarmārya; Mātṛiśarmārya of the Gautama (*gōtra*); Dēvaśarmārya of the Kaundinya (*gōtra*); (*and*) Varaśarmārya (*and*) Rōhārya; Svāmidēvārya of the Gautama (*gōtra*), (*and*) Rēvatiśarmārya (*and*) Jyēshthaśarmārya, Kumāraśarmārya of the Śāṇḍilya (*gōtra*), (*and*) Svātiśarmārya; (*and*) Kāndārya of the Śātyāyana (*gōtra*) and others.

(Line 59). (*This*) charter has been written, **Chitravarman** being the *Sēnāpati*, on the **thirteenth** (*lunar day*) of the **bright fortnight** of the month **Jyēshṭha** in the **eighteenth-10 (and) 8**—(*regnal*) **year.**

SEAL

(*This is*) the enemy-chastising command of the king **Pravarasēna** (II), the ornament of the **Vākāṭakas,** who has attained royal fortune by inheritance.

SIWANĪ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates were found in the possession of a Malguzar named Hazari Gond living at the village of Pindarai in the **Siwanī** *tahsil* of the Chhindwādā District of Madhya Pradesh They were brought to notice in 1836, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol V, pp 726 f, where Mr James Prinsep published his transcript of the text and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph of the plates They were next edited by Dr Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol III, pp 243 f together with a translation and lithographs of the plates They are edited here from the same lithographs.

'The **plates,** of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are five in number, each measuring about $8\frac{3}{16}''$ by $4\frac{1}{2}''$ at the ends and somewhat less in the middle They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims The inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout . . The engraving is very good Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them The ring is circular, about $\frac{3}{4}''$ thick and $3\frac{7}{8}''$ in diameter The ends of it were flattened off, so as to overlap, and were fastened with a pin or bolt . The **seal** is a thin flat disc of copper, about $3\frac{1}{16}''$ in diameter A bolt in the centre of it secures it to a thin band of copper, about $\frac{5}{8}''$ broad and $3\frac{1}{4}''$ in circumference, by which it slides on the ring mentioned above Across the surface of the seal there is a legend in four lines The weight of the five plates is about 3 lbs $4\frac{1}{4}$ oz, and of the ring and seal, $5\frac{1}{4}$ oz ; total 3 lbs $9\frac{1}{2}$ oz The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}''$, except on the seal and the last plate where they are larger [1]' The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, resembling those of the Jāmb plates The only peculiarities that may be noted are as follows—*kh* has a rectangle at the bottom, see *-khanakah*, line 29, *d* is not distinguished clearly from *ḍ*, see *daṇḍa*, line 11, *n* shows the same form as in modern Nāgarī, see *-yājinah*, line 2 *b* has two forms (i) the square one as in *Bēnnā-*, line 17 and (ii) that with a notch in the left limb as in *Brihaspati-*, line 1, a final consonant is indicated by its short form and in some cases by means of a short horizontal stroke at the top, see *drishtam*, line 1 and *rāja-vanśānām* line 5 The sign of the *upadhmānīya* occurs in line 3 of the legend The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for the legend and two benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end the inscription is in verse throughout As regards **orthography,** we may note (i) the reduplication of the consonant following *r* as in *-Āptōryyām-*, line 1 and that of the consonant preceding *y* and *v* as in *Bhāgīratthy-*, line 5 and *addhvaryyavē*, lines 19-20, (ii) the use of *n* for *anusvāra* before *ś* and *s* as in *vanśa-*, line 5 and 17 and *ansa-*, line 4, and (iii) the use of *li* for the medial vowel *ḷi* in *-klipt-ōpaklipta-*, in line 30

The inscription, which opens with *drishtam*, is one of *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna II** of the **Vākāṭaka dynasty.** His genealogy is given here exactly as in his other grants, his maternal grandfather being called **Dēvagupta.** The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Pravarasēna II, of the village **Brahmapūraka** to the Brāhmana **Dēvaśarmāchārya** of the Maudgalya *gōtra* and Taittirīya *śākhā* The place of issue is not named in the record, but it was probably the royal capital Pravarapura, for, the grant is said to have been made a

[1] Fleet, *CII*, Vol III, pp 243 f

the victorious place of religious worship (*vaijayika- dharma-sthāna*)[1] The donated village was situated in the **Bēṇṇākārpara-bhōga** and lay to the north of **Vatapūraka,** to the west of **Kiṇihikhētaka,** to the south of **Pavarajjavātaka** and to the east of **Kōllapūraka.** The village adjoining it was named **Karañjaviraka.** The grant was made on the **12th tithi** of the **bright fortnight** of **Phālguna** in the **eighteenth** regnal **year** (expressed in words) of Pravarasēna II The *Sēnāpati* at the time was **Bāppadēva.** The charter was written by **Āchārya.**

The **localities** mentioned in the present plates remained unidentified for a long time Fleet suggested the identification of only one of them, *viz*, **Kōllapūraka** which he thought was possibly identical with 'the modern Kōlāpoor of the map, twenty-one miles south of Ilichpur' This is incorrect, for, the real name of the place is Khōlāpur and it was founded by Khōlēśvara, a well-known general of the great Yādava king Singhana, who named it after himself and granted it as an *agrahāra* to Brāhmanas[2] Again, none of the other villages can be identified in the vicinity of Khōlāpur While editing the Pātnā Museum plate of Pravarasēna II, Dr Altekar suggested that **Brahmapūraka** named in it to define the boundary of the donated village Śrīparnakā was identical with the village of the same name granted by the present plates He identified it with Brāhmanwādā near Achalapur[3] This identification also is open to the same objection, for, none of the other villages can be identified in the vicinity of Brāhmanwādā The statement in the present grant that Brahmapūraka was situated in **Bēṇṇākāpara-bhōga** is important Like Bēnnākata of the Tirōdī plates[4], this *bhōga* also must have derived its name from the river Bēnnā, modern Waingangā[5], and must have included the territory in the vicinity of that river With this clue I could identify most of the villages mentioned in the present grant Kārañjā, about 6 miles from Āmgaon, a railway station on the Calcutta-Nagpur line of the South-Eastern Railway, is probably the ancient **Karañjaviraka. Brahmapūraka,** the donated village, is Bāhmnī, about three miles from Kārañjā **Kōllapūraka** of the plates is now represented by Kulpā near Kārañjā, about 5 miles to the west of Bahmnī **Pavarajjavāṭaka** and **Vaṭapūraka** may be the modern Paraswādā and Badgaon near Bāhmnī[6]. These places lie within 20 to 30 miles from the eastern bank of the Waingangā and were in all probability included in the Bennākārpara-bhōga mentioned in the present plates[7]

TEXT[8]

First Plate

1 दृष्टम् ॥ सिद्धम्[।*] अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्त्थ्यषोडश्यतिरात्रवाजये(पे)यबृहस्पतिसव-

---

[1] This expression generally occurs in the grants made at the royal capital

[2] Cf खोल्लपूराभिध चक्रे योग्रहारमनुत्तमम् । तीरे पयोष्ण्या विपुल तथान्यद्धाम्तिनापुरम ॥ G. H Kharc, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, p 64

[3] *J B O R S*, Vol XIV, p 472

[4] See No 11, line 13

[5] This river is called Vēnā in the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhāparvan, Adhyāya 31, v 12), *Padmapurāna* (svargakhanda, adhyāya, 30, vv 30-32, and adhyāya 114, vv 27-28) The *Mārkandēayapurāna* and the *Matsyapurāna* call it Vēnyā Vēnvā in the *Vāyu* (ad 45, v 102) and *Kūrma* (ad 47, v 32) are evidently corrupt forms of the Sanskrit name Vēnyā

[6] Paraswādā and Badgaon do not lie to the north and south of Bāhmnī as stated in the plates, but are situated in the opposite directions The official who drafted the present charter must have been responsible for the mistake

[7] The identifications of these places were first suggested by me in the *Nagpur University Journal*, No I, pp 1 ff

[8] From the facsimiles facing pages 248 and 249 in Fleet's *C I I.*, Vol III

2 साग्नस्क[च]तुरश्वमेधयाजिन विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्राट्[1] वाकाटकाना-
3 म्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनो सूनो अत्यन्तस्वामिमहा-
4 भैरवभक्तस्य अन्स[2]भारसन्निव(वे)शितशिवलिङ्गोद्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्ट-
5 समुत्पादितराजवन्शा(वंशा)नाम् पराक्रमाधिगतभागीरथ्या(थ्य)मलजलमूर्द्धाभि-

Second Plate First side

6 षिक्तानाम् दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानाम्भारशिवानाम्महाराजश्रीभवना-
7 गदौहित्रस्य गौतमि(मी)पुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य ।[3] वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्री-
8 रुद्रसेनस्य सूनो अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य । सत्यार्ज्जवकारुण्यशौ-
9 र्य्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधि(धी)मत्व(त्त्व)पात्रगत[4]भक्तित्वधर्म्मविजयि-
10 त्वमनोनैर्म्मल्यादिगुणसमुदितस्य । वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोश-
11 दण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिण युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्व्वाकाटकानाम्महाराज-

Second Plate Second side

12 श्रीपृथिवि(वी)षेणस्य सूनो[*] भगवतश्चक्रपाणे प्रसादोपार्ज्जित-
13 श्रीसमुदयस्य । वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रि(श्री)रुद्रसेनस्य सूनो
14 पूर्व्वराजानुवृत्तमार्ग्गानुसारिण सुनयबलपराक्क्रमो-
15 च्छिन्नसर्व्वद्विष महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाम्प्रभावति(ती)-
16 गुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य शम्भो[*] प्रसादधृति(त)कार्त्तयुगस्य (स्य) वाकाटक-

Third Plate First side

17 वन्शालङ्कार[5]भूतस्य । महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचनात् बेण्णा-
18 कार्प्परभा(भो)गे प्रवर्द्धमानराज्यसव्वत्सरे[6] । अष्टादशमे[7] । फाल्गु-
19 नशुक्लद्वादश्याम् मौद्गल्यसगोत्राय । तैत्तिरि(री)यायाद्ध्वर्य्य-
20 वे देवशर्म्माचार्य्यायोदकपूर्व्वम् सकोरट सपञ्चाशत्क
21 ब्रह्मपूरकन्नाम ग्रामोतिसृष्ट [।*] वटपूरकस्योत्तरेण । किणिहिखे-
22 टकस्यापरेण । प्रवरज्जवाटकस्य दक्षिणेन । कोल्लपूरकस्य

Third Plate Second side

23 पूर्व्वेण । स्वसीमापर(रि)च्छ(च्छे)देन करञ्जविरकतटे । अत्रास्मत्सन्तका
24 सर्व्वाध्यक्षन(नि)योगनियुक्ता आज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भटा[8]
25 श्छात्राश्च विश्रुतपूर्व्वया आज्ञया आज्ञापयितव्या [।*] विदित-
26 मस्तु त(व) यथैषोस्माभि आत्मनो धर्म्मायुर्ब्बलविजयैश्वर्य्यवि[9]वृध(द्ध)ये
27 इह(हा)मुत्रहितार्त्थमात्वा(मा)नुग्रहाय । वैजयिके धर्म्मस्थाने[10] अभट-

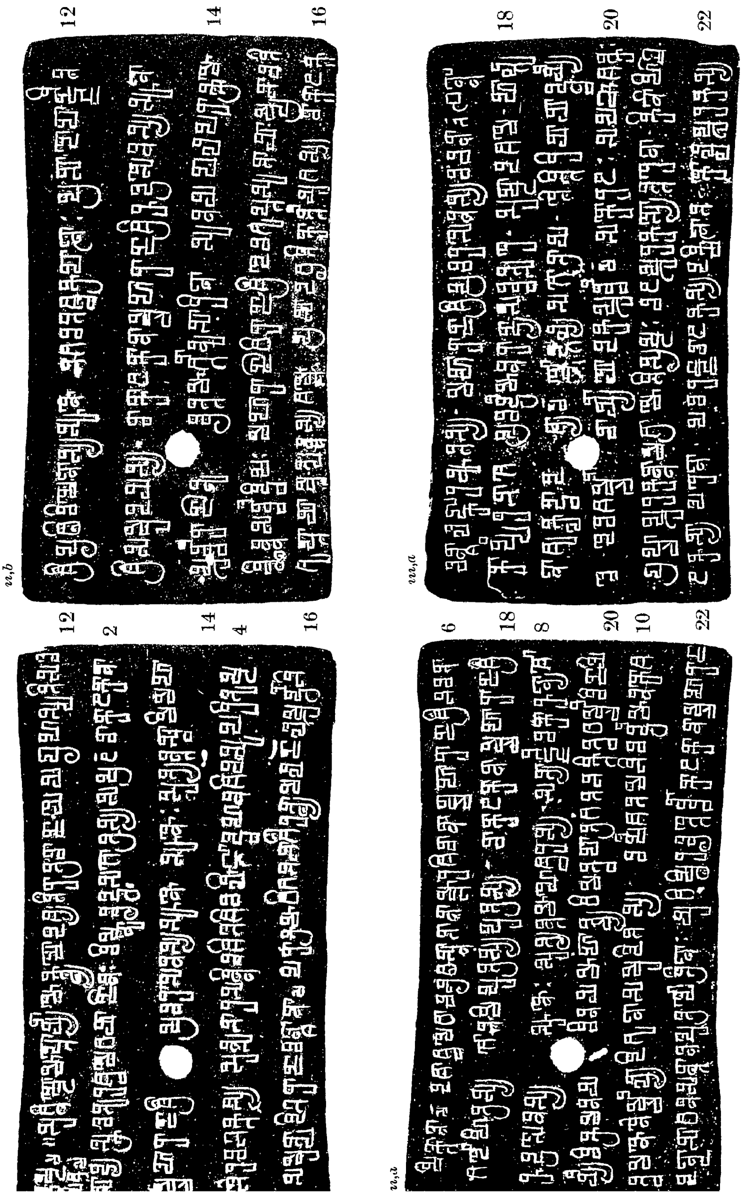
Fourth Plate First side

28 च्छ(च्छा)त्रप्रावेश्य अपारम्परगोबलिवर्द्द अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोह[*] अचा-

---

1 Read सम्राजो
2 Read अस-
3 This and similar marks of punctuation in lines 7-31 are unnecessary.
4 It is not necessary to correct this into पात्रागत as proposed by Fleet.
5 Read वशालङ्कार-
6 Read सवत्सरे
7 Read अष्टादशे
8 Read भटा-
9 त्रि, which was engraved at first, was later changed to वि.
10 Supply अतिसृष्ट

SIWANĪ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II



Scale Six-elevenths

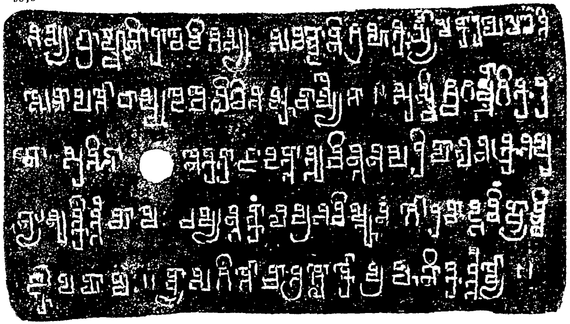
D C Sircar

Reg No 3077 E36—1

Printed at the Survey of India Offices (P L O)

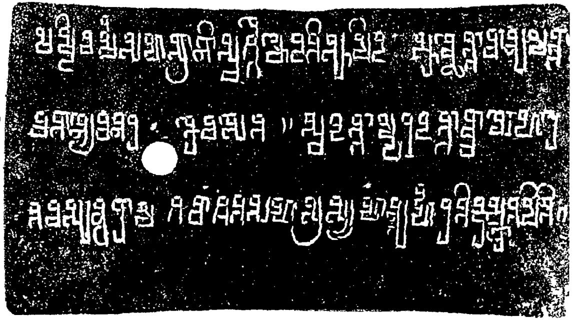
iii,b

iv,b



iv,a

v



29 रासनचर्म्माङ्गार अलवण[1]क्लिव(न्न)क्रेणिखनक सर्व्वविष्टिपरिहार-
30 परिहृत सनिधि सोपनिधि सक्लिप्तोपक्लिप्त[2] आचन्द्रादित्य-
31 कालि(ली)य पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी । भुज्यमानो न केनचिद्व्याघातयि-
32 तव्य सर्व्वक्रियाभि सरक्षितव्य परिवर्द्धयितव्या(व्य)श्च[।*] यश्चास्म-
33 च्छासनमगणयमान स्वल्पामपि परिबाधान्कुर्य्यात्कारयीत[3] वा

Fourth Plate Second side

34 तस्य ब्राह्मणैरावेदितस्य । सदण्डनिग्रह कुर्य्याम कारयेम वेति [।*]
35 सेनापतौ बाप्पदेवे लिखितमाचार्य्येण ।। अस्मि(स्मि)श्च ध[र्म्मा]धिकर-
36 णे[4] अति(ती)तानेकराजदत्तास्सचिन्तनपरिपालन[5] कृतपु[6]-
37 ण्यानुकीर्त्तयाम [।*] एष्यन्तत्कालप्रभविष्णून[7] गौरवाद्भविष्यान्वि-
38 ज्ञापयाम ।। व्यासगीतौ चात्र श्लोकौ प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्यौ ।।

Fifth Plate

39 षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिद [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमत्ता(न्ता)
40 च तान्येव नरके वसेत(त्)[8] [।।*] स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताव्वा[9] यो हरे-
41 त वसुन्धराम(म्) [।*] गवा शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृतमिति ।। (दुष्कृतम् ।। इति ।)

SEAL

1 वाकाटकललामस्य
2 क्रमप्राप्तनृपश्रिय [।*]
3 राज्ञ*प्रवरसेनस्य
4 शासन(न) रिपुशासनम्[10] [।।*]

TRANSLATION

Seen By the order of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II),** who is an ornament of the **Vākāṭaka** family, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the *Krita-yuga* (*on the earth*), who was born of **Prabhāvatīguptā,** the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta;** who has exterminated all his enemies by his excellent policy, strength and valour, who follows the path adopted by former kings (*and*) who is the son of **Rudrasēna (II),** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākāṭakas:—**

(*For translation of lines* 1 *to* 13, *see above*, *pp* 13-14)

(Line 17) The village named **Brahmapūraka,** together with *kōraṭa*[11] and the right to levy a tax equal to one-fiftieth[12] (*of the sale-price*), situated in the *bhōga* of **Beṇṇākārpara,** has been given, with the pouring out of water, to the *Adhvaryu*, *Āchārya* **Dēvaśarman** of the

[1] At first लि, later corrected into ल
[2] Read सक्लृप्तोपक्लृप्त
[3] Read परिबाधाङ्कुर्य्यात्कारयेद्वा
[4] Other cognate plates have generally धर्म्माधिकरणे
[5] Read राजदत्तसचिन्तनपरिपालन
[6] Read कृतपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्त्थं न कीर्त्तयाम
[7] Read एष्यत्कालप्रभविष्णूना
[8] Metre of this and the next verse *Anushtubh.*
[9] Read -दत्ता वा
[10] Metre *Anushtubh*
[11] The meaning of *kōraṭa* is not certain.
[12] For this tax, see *MSM*, ch. VII, 130 v.

Maudgalya *gōtra* and the Taittirīya *śākhā*, on the **twelfth** (*lunar day*) in the **bright** (*fortnight*) of the **eighteenth** (*regnal*) **year.**

(*This village lies*), according to the specification of its boundaries, adjoining (*the village*) **Karañjaviraka,** to the north of **Vaṭapūraka,** to the west of **Kinihikhētaka,** to the south of **Pavarajjavātaka** (*and*) to the east of **Kollapūraka.**

(*For translation of lines 23 to 34, see above, p 14*)

(Line 35) (*This charter*) has been written by **Āchārya,** while **Bāppadēva** is the *Senāpati*

And in this matter of religion We, in order to avoid mention of the meritorious deeds already done, do not refer to (*Our*) care and protection of the grants of many past kings (*And*) We make this request to future rulers out of reverence for them

(Line 38) The (*following*) verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authoritative on this point.—

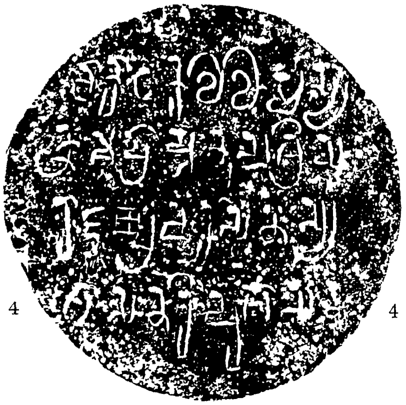
(*Here occur two benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

SEAL

(*For translation of the legend on the seal, see above, p 27*)

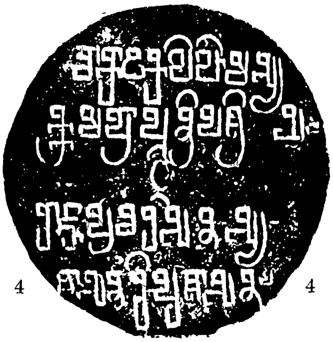
SEALS OF PRAVARASĒNA II

Seal of the Chammak Plates



Seal of the Siwanī Plates

Seal of the Tirodī Plates



(from photographs)

D C Sircar

Reg No 3977 E'36—1103'62

Printed at the Survey of India Offices (P L O)

No 8 PLATE VIII

RIDDHAPUR PLATES OF PRABHĀVATĪGUPTĀ

THESE plates were found in the possession of *Mahanta* Dattarāja of the Mahānubhāva sect. They were discovered at Riddhapur in the Mōrsī *tahsil* of the Amarāvatī District in Vidarbha They have been edited twice by Mr Y R Gupte, first in Marathi in the *Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Mandal Quarterly*, Vol. III, Nos 2-4, pp 89 f, and again, with negative facsimiles and an English translation, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol XX, pp 53 f The plates are now deposited in the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Maṇḍal, Poona They are edited here from the same facsimiles

The **copper-plates** are four in number, measuring $5\frac{3}{4}''$ long, $3\frac{3}{4}''$ broad and $\frac{1}{2}''$ thick The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only, and the other two, on both the sides There are thirty-two lines of writing in all, of which five are inscribed on the first, and three on the fourth plate The remaining plates have six lines on each side The letters on the first and fourth plates and those in the first two lines on the first side of the second plate are larger and thicker than those in the other lines The letters are well cut and the record is in a good state of preservation Each plate has a round hole 6/16″ in diameter for the ring which must have held the plates together, but neither the ring nor the seal which it must have carried is now forthcoming The weight of the four plates is 115 *tōlās*

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets resembling those of the Jāmb and other plates of Pravarasēna II The only peculiarities that need be stated here are as follows—The length of the medial *ī* (long) is indicated by a double curve or by a dot in a circle, see *śrī-Ghaṭōtkacha-*, line 2 and *-mahishī*, line 9; the rare initial *ai* occurs in *aihik-*, line 13, medial *au* is bipartite as in *-dauhitrō*, line 3, *kh* has a loop at the bottom in *-khanaka*, line 19, but not in *likhitam*, line 31, *g* and *ś* have curves turned inside at the end of their left member as in *-nagarē*, line 12 and *-varsha-śata-* in line 11, *d* and *ḍ* are distinguished in *daṇḍa-*, line 24, *b* occurs with a notch on the left, as in *Kubēra-*, line 8, a final consonant is shown by its small size, but has no vertical stroke at the top, see *vasundharām*, line 28, the sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in line 22 and that of the *upadhmānīya* in lines 1, 6, 22, 27 and 29. Interpunctuation is indicated by vertical strokes as in line 1 or by dots or a small horizontal stroke as in lines 16 and 32. The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for a verse at the end, the whole record is in prose As regards **orthography,** we may note the reduplication before and after *r* as in *parākkram-*, line 26 and *chāturvvidya-*, line 17, that of a consonant before *y* as in *-pād-ānuddhyātō*, line 5, and the use of *li* for the medial vowel *ḷi* in *klipt-opakliptam*, line 20.

The inscription opens with *Jitam Bhagavatā* 'Victory has been attained by the Lord', which occurs also in the Poonā plates of Prabhavātīguptā There is, however, no word like *dṛishtam* 'seen' which occurs in the latter grant as well as in almost all complete charters of Pravarasēna II The characters as well as the wording of the present grant, however, leave no doubt that it is genuine

The inscription is one of *Mahādēvī* **Prabhāvatīguptā,** the chief queen of the **Vākāṭaka** *Mahārāja* **Rudrasēna II** and the mother of the **Vākāṭaka** *Mahārāja* **Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna.** As shown below, the record is **dated** in the **19th** regnal **year** of the Vākāṭaka king **Pravarasēna II,** but, strange as it may appear, the introductory

portion of the grant gives the **genealogy** of the **Guptas** and not of the Vākāṭakas This is also seen in the Poonā plates which were issued when Prabhāvatī was acting as Regent for her minor son *Yuvarāja* Divākarasēna The introduction of the Gupta genealogy in the latter grant can be explained as due to the influence of the Gupta officials sent by Chandragupta II to Vidarbha to help his widowed daughter in the government of the Vākāṭaka kingdom. No such explanation will, however, avail in the present case, for Pravarasēna II was a grown up man when the present grant was made In all his earlier grants he has given his own genealogy in the introductory portion The use of the Gupta genealogy here must therefore be attributed to Prabhāvatī's pride in her descent from the Gupta family

The **genealogy** of the **Guptas** is given here exactly as in Prabhāvatī's Poona plates, the only difference being that the imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja* is here applied only to **Chandragupta II,** all his predecessors including the great Emperor **Samudragupta** being styled as *Mahārāja* The Vākāṭaka kings **Rudrasēna II** and **Pravarasēna II** mentioned in the grant are also styled as *Mahārāja* **Prabhāvatīguptā** is described as meditating on the feet of the Bhagavat Like her father, she was a devotee of Vishnu.

The plates were issued from the **foot-prints** of **'the lord of Rāmagiri',** who is evidently identical with Rāmachandra, an incarnation of Vishnu The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant, by Prabhāvatī, of a field together with a house and four huts of farmers in **Aśvatthanagara** which lay in the *mārga* (subdivision) of **Kośika.** The **donees** are not mentioned by name, but are described as Brāhmanas, with or without sons, who were of the Parāśara *gōtra* and the Taittirīya *śākhā* The grant is dated, at the end, on the **twelfth** *tithi* of the **bright fortnight** of **Kārttika** in the **nineteenth** regnal **year** of **Pravarasēna.** As Prabhāvatī was a devotee of Vishnu, she seems to have made the present grant on the occasion of the *pāraṇā* (completion) of her fast on the preceding Prabodhinī Ēkādaśī Her Poonā grant also was made on a similar occasion The **Dūtaka** was **Dēvanandasvāmin** and the scribe **Prabhusimha**

There is one expression in the description of Prabhāvatī which has led to much controversy Mr Gupte, who edited the plates, read it as *s-āgra-varsha-śata-diva-putra-pautrā* and proposed the following two renderings—(i) who has sons and grandsons, a life of full hundred years and will (in the end) live in heaven, and (ii) who has renowned sons and grandsons and who has lived a life of full hundred years[1] Mr Gupte remarked that the expression need not be taken literally and that what was intended was that Prabhāvatīguptā lived for a long time and saw illustrious sons and grandsons It has since been shown[2] that the correct reading is *-jīva-putra-pautrā*, not *-diva-putra-pautrā* Dr R C. Majumdar took the expression literally and understood it as meaning that Prabhāvatī lived for more than a hundred years and had sons and grandsons[3] On this interpretation he based his theory of Vākāṭaka chronology. It does not, however, appear to be correct In the expression cited above, *jīva-putra-pautrā* means 'having living sons and grandsons' Similar expressions *jīva-sutā* or *jīva-putrā* occur in the *Ṛigvēda*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana* as well as in some old inscriptions[4] To have living sons and grandsons is regarded as a sign of good

---

[1] *J A S B*, *N S.*, Vol. XX, pp 56 and 60.

[2] This was first pointed out by Prof Jagan Nath in *P I H C*, IV, p. 59

[3] *J R.A S B*, Vol. XII, pp 1 f

[4] Cf
(i) वय जीवा जीवपुत्रा अनागस । *Rigvēda* X, 36, 9
(ii) जानासि मे जीवपुत्रे भाव नित्यमविग्रहे ।
क्रोधनो न च गृह्णीते वचन मे सुयोधन ॥ *MBH*, V, 144, 2
(iii) जीवपुत्रे निवर्तस्व पुत्र रक्षस्व चाङ्गदम् ।
अन्तको रामरूपेण हत्वा नयति वालिनम् ॥ *Rāmāyna* IV, 19, 11.
(iv) जीवसुताय राजमातुय वचनेन । Nāsik cave inscription, *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, p 73

fortune and is therefore often mentioned in the description of women. The preceding expression *s-āgra-varsha-śata* indicating long life must evidently be connected with *jīva*. The expression, therefore refers to the long life of the sons and grandsons of Prabhāvatī and not to her own. Besides, to a widow like Prabhāvatīguptā a long life of a hundred years is most distasteful. No Indian widow is likely to boast of it in her own record. The long life mentioned in the expression must therefore be taken to refer to that of the sons and grandsons of Prabhāvatī. The expression cannot, of course, be taken literally, but must be interpreted like the epithets *dīrghāyuh* or *āyushmat* applied to small children. The intention in such cases is to express the wish that they would be long-lived. The expression therefore means 'who has sons and grandsons who (it is hoped) will live for a full hundred years'.

Prabhvātīguptā is again described in line 10 as the mother of the Vākātaka *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna.** This expression also has been interpreted differently by different scholars. Dr. Mujumdar says that Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna were two different sons of Prabhāvatī. We must note, however, that the expression uses the phrase *Vākātakānām Mahārājah* in connection with the name of Dāmōdarasēna, but not with that of Pravarasēna II. When we remember how particular the drafters of Vākātaka grants were about the use of this title in connection with the name of every Vākātaka king who actually reigned[1], it looks strange that the title should not have been prefixed to the name of Pravarasēna II, who was ruling at the time. Again, if the intention was to name all sons of Prabhāvatī, the name of Divākarasēna also should have been added. It seems probable therefore, that Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna II were identical and that the latter name was adopted by the prince at the time of his accession.

As for the **place-names** mentioned in the present grant, **Rāmagiri** is undoubtedly modern Rāmtek, about 28 miles north of Nāgpur. It lies only about 3 miles from Nandivardhana, modern Nagardhan, the earlier capital of the Vākātakas. In Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta*, Rāmagiri is mentioned as the place where the *yaksha*, exiled from Alakā, lived for a year. From the description in Kālidāsa's poem we learn that the hill was marked by the venerable foot-prints of Raghupati (Rāmachandra)[2], and it is noteworthy that the present grant was made by Prabhāvatīguptā near the foot-prints of the Lord of Rāmagiri. The geographical situation of Rāmtēk answers to the description of Rāmagiri in the *Mēghadūta*[3] and it is known to have been regarded as a holy place for several centuries. There should therefore be no doubt about this identification. Several grants of Prabhāvatīguptā and Pravarasēna II were made after being offered to the Bhagavat who was plainly none but the god Rāmachandra whose *pādukās* were installed at Rāmagiri. **Aśvatthanagara** has been identified with Asatpur in the Achalpur *tahsil* of the Amarāvatī District of Vidarbha[4]. **Kōśika,** the headquarters of the *mārga* in which Asvatthanagara was situated, cannot, however, be located in its neighbourhood.

TEXT[5]

First Plate

1 जित(त) भगवता ॥ रामगिरिस्वामिनᳵपादमूलाद्गुप्तान(ना)मादि-

[1] Notice the omission of the title *Vākātakānām Mahārājah* in connection with the name of Gautamīputra, who predeceased his father Pravarasēna I. See, above, No. 3, line 7.

[2] Cf. वन्द्यैः पुंसा रघुपतिपदैरङ्कितं मेखलासु । verse 12.

[3] For a fuller discussion of this identification, see my article 'Location of Rāmagiri' in the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. IX, pp. 9 ff. See also my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, pp. 12 f.

[4] *J.A.S.B.*, *N.S.*, Vol. XX, p. 58.

[5] From the negative facsimiles facing pages 58 and 60 in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XX.

2 राजो[1] महाराजश्रीघटोत्कचस्तस्य पुत्रो महाराजश्रीचन्द्र-
3 गुप्त[*] तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादपरिगृहि(ही)त(तो) लिच्छविदौहित्रो
4 महादेव्या(व्या) कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्र-
5 स्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो न्यायागतानेकगोहिरण्यकोटिसहस्रप्रदस्सर्व्वराजो-

Second Plate First Side

6 च्छेत्ता पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथ×परमभागवतो महादेव्या(व्या) दत्तदेव्यामु-
7 त्पनो(न्नो) महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य दुहिता धारणसगोत्रा
8 नागकुलोत्पन्नाया(या) कुबेरा(र)नाग(गा)देव्यामुत्पन्ना उभयकुलाल-
9 ङ्कारभूता वाकाटकाना(ना) महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्याग्रमहिषी
10 वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीदामोदरसेनप्रवरसेनजननी भगव-
11 त्पादानुद्ध्याता साग्रवर्षशतजीवपुत्रपौत्रा श्र(श्री)महादेवीप्रभ(भा)वती-[2]

Second Plate Second Side

12 गुप्ता ।। कोशिकमार्ग्ग(र्ग्गे) अश्वत्थनगरे सब्रह(ब्राह्म)णपुर(रो)गग्राममहत्तरा(रा)श्च
13 कुशलमुक्त्वा सम(मा)ज्ञापयत(ति)[।*]ऐहिकामुत्रिकमस्मिन्नगरे स्वपुण्याप्या[यना]त्थ(र्त्थं)
14 पराशरसगोत्राणा(णा) तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणानामप्यपुत्रापुत्राणा[3] अभ्य-
15 न्तरनिवेशने[न*] सह कर्षकनिवेशनानि च[4] चत्वार(रि)
16 भुक्ता(क्त)काभोगक्षेत्रमुदकपूर्व्व(र्व्वं) शासनेनो[न] सति(नि)बद्ध(द्धम्) । उचिताश्चास्य[5]
17 पूर्व्वराजानुमताञ्चातुर्विद्यग्राममर्यादान्वितराम[6]स्तद्यथा

Third Plate First Side

18 अकरदायी(यि)[7] अभटच्छत्रप्रावेश्य(श्य) अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोह अचारा-
19 सनचर्म्माङ्गार(र) अलवणक्लिन्नक्रेणिखनक(क) सर्व्वविस्वि(ष्टि)परिहारा(र)-
20 परिहृत(त) सनिधान सोपनिधान सक्ल(क्लृ)प्तोपक्लि(क्लृ)प्तम(मा)चन्द्रा-
21 दित्यकालीय(य) पुत्रपौत्रानुगामि भुञ्जता(ता) न केनचिद्वयाघात-
22 ᳵकर्त्तव्य सर्व्वक्रियाभिस्सरक्षितव्य×परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च [।*] यश्च(श्चा)स्मा(स्म)-
23 च्छासनमगणयमान[*] स्वल्पामपि परिबाधा(धा) कुर्य्यात्कारयि(ये)त वा तस्य

Third Plate Second Side

24 ब्राह्मण(णै)रावेदितस्य सदण्डनिग्रह करिष्याम [।*]अस्मि(स्मि)श्च धर्म्मादर-
25 करणे अनी(ती)तानेकराजदत्ता(त्त)सञ्चित(न्त)नपरिपालन पुण्यानुकीर्त्तन-
26 परिहारार्त्थं न कीर्त्तयाम [।*] सङ्कल्पाधि(भि)योगपराक्क्रमोपजि-
27 जितान्वर्त्तमानामा(ना)ज्ञापयाम । व्यासगीतश्चात्र श्लोक×प्रमाण(णम्)[।*]
28 स्वदत्ता(त्ता) परदत्ता वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् [।*] गवा शतसहस्रस्य
29 हन्तु×पिबति दुष्कृतमिति[8] ।। वाकाटकाना(ना) महाराजश्रीप्रवर-

[1] The Poonā plates have गुप्तादिराजो

[2] The facsimile shows the medial $\bar{i}$ (long) clearly

[3] Read ब्राह्मणाना सपुत्रापुत्राणा

[4] This word is superfluous

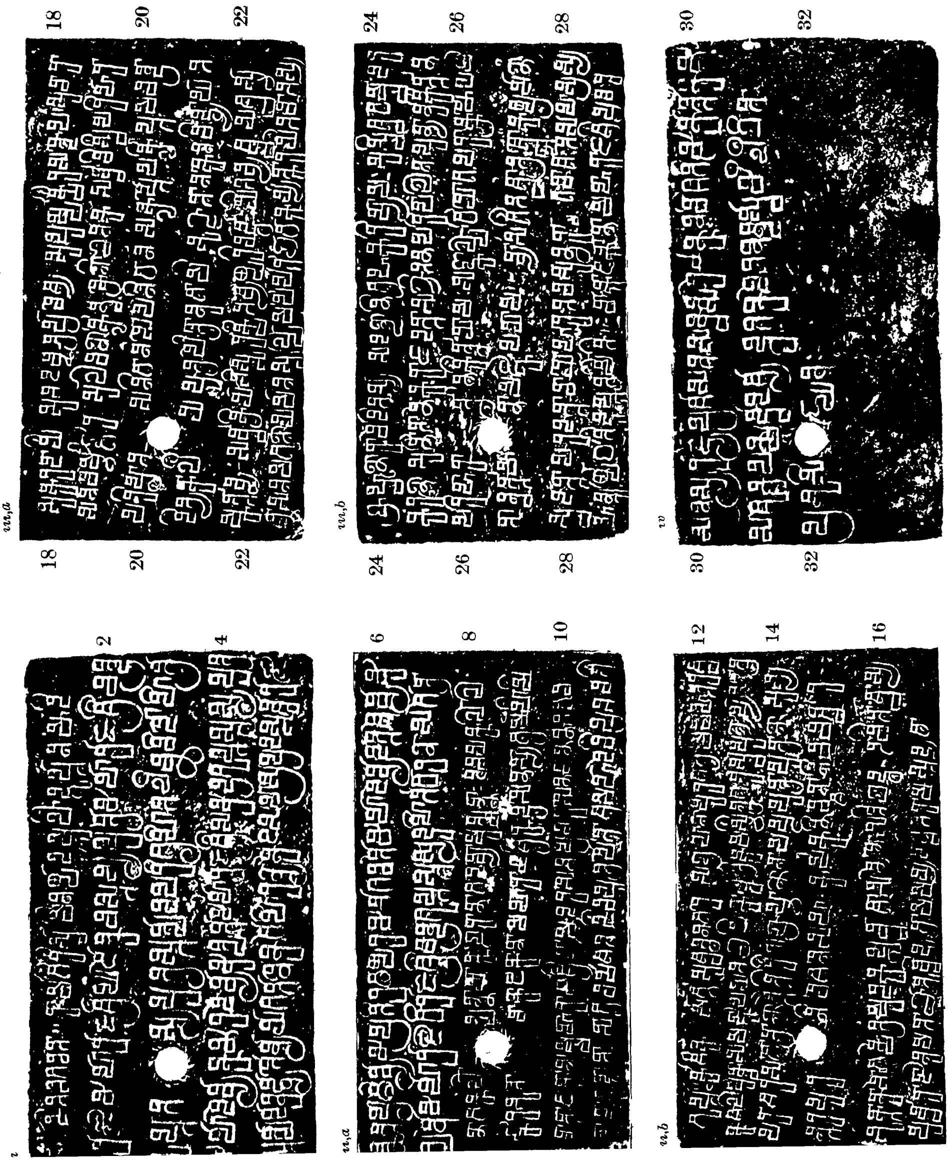
[5] Read उचिता चास्य

[6] Read मर्य्यादा वितराम

[7] These and the following expressions should be in the neuter gender and singular number so as to agree with क्षेत्र See भुक्तकाभोगक्षेत्र in line 16 above.

[8] Read दुष्कृतम् ।। इति । Metre *Anushtubh*

RIDDHAPUR PLATES OF PRABHĀVATĪGUPTĀ



Fourth Plate

30 सेनस्य राज्यप्रशासतसव्वत्सरे[1] एकुनविशतिमे[2] कार्त्तिक-
31 मासशुक्लपक्षद्वादश्या (श्याम्) दूतक (को) देवनन्दस्वामी[3] [।*] ली (लि) खित
32 प्रभुसिङ्घेन[4] ॥

TRANSLATION

Victory has been attained by the Bhagavat! From the footprints of the **Lord of Rāmagiri**:—

(*There was*) the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Ghatōtkacha,** the first king of the **Guptas.** His son (*was*) the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Chandragupta (I).** His son, graciously favoured by him, (*was*) the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Samudragupta,** (*who was*) born of the *Mahādēvī* **Kumāradēvī** (*and was*) the daughter's son of the **Lichchhavi** (*Chief*) His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Chandragupta (II),** born of the *Mahādēvī* **Dattadēvī,** who (*was*) a fervent devotee of the Bhagavat (Vishnu), who (*was*) a matchless warrior on the earth, who exterminated all kings, (*and*) who donated many thousands of crores of cows and gold (*coins*) which he had obtained by lawful means

(Line 7) His daughter, the illustrious *Mahādēvī* **Prabhāvatīgupta** of the **Dhāraṇa** *gōtra*, born of the queen Kuberanāgā, who was herself born in a **Nāga** family,—who is an ornament of both the (*Gupta and Vākātaka*) families, who (*was*) the Chief Queen of the illustrious **Rudrasēna II,** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākāṭakas;** who is the mother of the illustrious **Dāmodarasēna** (*alias*[5]) **Pravarasēna (II),** the *Mahārāja* of the *Vākāṭakas*, who meditates on the feet of the Bhagavat (Vishnu), (*and*) who has sons and grandsons who will live for a full hundred years[6]—having announced (*her*) good health, commands the *Mahattaras* (elders) of the village led by the Brāhmanas (*residing*) in the **Aśvatthanagara** in the *mārga* (subdivision) of **Kōśika** as follows—

" We have in this town donated the field enjoyed (*so far*) by Bhuktaka together with a farm-house situated in it (*and*) four huts of cultivators, to the Brāhmanas[7] of the Parāśara *gotra* and the Taittirīya *śākhā*, whether they have or do not have sons, by pouring out water and issuing a charter for the increase of Our religious merit and (*Our welfare*) in this world and the next

(*For translation of lines* 16-26, *see above*, *pp* 14-15)

(Line 26) We issue this order to the present rulers (*who are*) vanquished by Our resolve, attack or valour

And the (*following*) verse, sung by Vyāsa, should be regarded as authoritative on this point

(*Here occurs an imprecatory verse*)

(Line 29) In the **nineteenth year,** while the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II),** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas,** is governing his kingdom, on the **twelfth** (*lunar day*) in the **bright fortnight** of the month **Kārttika** (*this charter has been written*) The **Dūtaka** is **Devanandasvāmin.** (*This charter*) has been written by **Prabhusimha.**

1 Read राज्य प्रशासत सवत्सरे
2 Read एकोनविशतितमे
3 Gupte gives this name as वेवन्दस्वामी in both his articles, but the reading is clearly as above.
4 Read प्रभुसिहेन.
5 See above, p 35
6 See above, p. 34
7 The names of the Brāhmanas have been omitted inadvertently

No 9 Plate IX

INDORE PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates were in the possession of Pandit Vāmanśāstrī Islāmpurkar of **Indore.** Their original findspot is not known, but, like some other grants[1] in the possession of the Pandit, they did not originally belong to Indore, but were evidently obtained by him somewhere else in the course of his search for Sanskrit manuscripts and antiquities. They were handed over by him to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, from whom they were obtained by Mr. Sushil K. Bose for publication. They have been edited, with facsimiles, by him in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 52 f. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

The **copper-plates**[2] are three in number, measuring 7″ long by 3¾″ broad. They are quite smooth, their edges not having been made thicker or raised into rims. About 2″ from the left margin, each plate has a hole, about 5/16″ in diameter for the ring which must have originally held the plates together, but neither the ring nor the seal which it must have carried is now forthcoming. The grant must have originally consisted of four plates, but the first plate is missing. As in the case of the other grants of Pravarasēna, the plate must have been incised on one side only, so that about seven lines of the record are now lost. The first two of the existing plates are inscribed on both the sides, while the last plate is inscribed on one side only. The inscription is in a good state of preservation. The extant portion of it consists of 34 lines, of which six are written on the first side of the first (*i. e.* originally the second) plate and seven on each of the other inscribed sides. The weight of the plates has not been recorded.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets resembling those of the other grants of Pravarasēna II. The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows:—The rare medial *li* occurs in *sa-klipt-opakliptah*, line 23; *g* and *ś* have in some cases a curve turned inward at the end of the left member as in the Riddhapur plates; see *Kauśika-sa-gōtra-*, line 15; *n* has no loop at the bottom in *-pautrinah*, line 4; *n* occurs in two forms, the cursive one as in *-Rudrasēna-*, line 1 and that resembling the Nāgarī form as in *Rudrasēna-*, line 6; *t* is generally unlooped, but in some cases it is confused with *n*, see *-sañchitnana-* for *sañchintana* in line 28; *b* appears in two forms as in the Siwanī plates. The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for an imprecatory verse in lines 31-33, the whole record is in prose. As regards **orthography,** we may note (i) the reduplication of a consonant after *r* as in *-ārjjava-*, line 2; (ii) that of the consonant before *y* as in *-sarvv-āddhyaksha-*, line 9; (iii) that of *v* seemingly after *anusvāra* in *para-dattā*[*m**]*vvā*, line 32; (iv) the use of *ri* for the medial *ri* in *-Prithivi-*, line 5 and *vice versa* in *-kriyābhi-*, line 25.

The inscription is one of the **Vākāṭaka** *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna II.** His genealogy was apparently given in the beginning exactly as in the Jāmb plates, but its earlier portion which described Pravarasēna I and Bhavanāga, the chief of the Bhāraśivas, is now lost. The name of the place whence the plates were issued is also now lost, but as the grant is said to have been made at the victorious place of religious worship (*vaijayikē dharma-sthānē*),

---

[1] See, for instance, the grants of *Mahārāja* Svāmidāsa and *Mahārāja* Bhulunda, which must have originally belonged to Khāndēsh. See my article in *A B O R I*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159 f. See also *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 5-10.

[2] The size of the plate and the position of the hole show that the Durg plate (No. 17) did not belong to this set.

the place of issue may have been the royal capital Pravarapura The grant has been very carelessly drafted The writer has, again, committed mistakes in omitting some words and afterwards writing them in wrong places[1] In one case he has substituted the name of a Brāhmana for that of the village granted[2] All this has made the task of interpretation very difficult It seems, however, clear that the **object** of the present inscription was to record the grant of a village (the name of which is unfortunately lost owing to the writer's carelessness) which lay in the *mārga* of **Gēpuraka,** to the north of **Ārāmaka,** to the east of **Kobidārikā,** to the south of **Kōśambaka** and to the west of **Añjanavātaka.** In line 11 Pravarasēna II says that he made the grant for augmenting his religious merit, life, power and royal fortune as well as for his well-being in this world and the next Line 20 read with line 13, however, states that a half of the *vāṭaka* (village) was purchased and donated to the Brāhmanas by the merchant *Chandra* near the foot-prints (*pāda-mūla*) of the *Bhagavat*, who was probably the same as the Lord of Rāmagiri mentioned in the Riddhapur plates In line 17 Pravarasēna II says that he has recorded the gift in a charter as it has been previously made[3] and still he says further that the village has been granted to the Brāhmanas as a fresh gift with the pouring out of water[4] The only way in which we can reconcile these conflicting statements is to suppose that the merchant Chandra purchased a half of the particular village and donated it to certain Brāhmanas and requested the king to confirm the gift and to issue a charter in that behalf The king seems to have given the other half of the village for his own religious merit etc The **donees** were the Brāhmana Gōndārya, the son of Viśākhārya, who was residing at **Ārāmaka,** and his six sons[5] Manōrathārya, Gōvārya, Dēvārya, Bāppārya, Kumārārya and Drōnārya They belonged to the Vāji-Kauśika *gōtra* The grant is **dated** on the **fifth tithi** of the **dark fortnight** of **Vaiśākha** in the **twenty-third year** evidently of the reign of Pravarasena II The order was communicated by the king personally The grant was written by the *Rajuka* **Kottadēva**

The mention of the officer *Rajuka* as the writer of the grant is interesting The officer *Rājuka*, as he is named elsewhere, is first noticed in the inscriptions of Aśōka He was a high officer placed in charge of many hundred thousands of men and could at his discretion inflict punishment or confer a reward The term is derived from *rajjū* meaning a rope and originally signified a settlement officer who measured lands for the assessment of land-tax The *Rajjuka* is also mentioned in an inscription of Chutukulānanda Sātakarni[6] He is rarely noticed thereafter His mention in the present grant shows that the term

[1] The words *mula datām-iti* at the end of line 13, which the Editor of the *Ep Ind* considered unintelligible, are connected in sense with *Bhagavat-pāda-* at the end of line 20 They should have been written at the bottom of the first side of the third plate. The writer committed a mistake in writing them at the bottom of the second side of the second plate It will thus be seen that the merchant Chandra did not purchase half of any field from the Brāhmanas as supposed by Bose, but donated a half of the village to them near the footprints of the Bhagavat From the boundaries given in the record it appears clear that the whole village, not a field in it, was granted by the king.

[2] The writer mentions Visākhāryavātaka as a village in line 14 Visākhārya was, however, the name of a Brāhmana who was the father of Gōndārya, one of the donees of this grant. While copying the record from the *bhūrjapatra*, the wrtiter's eye seems to have skipped over the proper name of the village, in place of which he wrote *Viśākhārya* occurring in the next line Strange as it may seem, the mistake remained uncorrected

[3] Notice *pu[r*]vva-dattā iti kritvā asmābhi[h*] śāsana-nibandhaḥ kritah* in lines 17-18.

[4] Notice *a-pūrvv-dattā(ttyā) udaka-pūrvvam-atisrishtah* in line 18

[5] Though the expression *Gōndārya-putra* is gramatically connected with only *Manōrathāryāya*, it is probably intended to be connected with the following names also

[6] *Ep. Carn*, Vol. VII, p. 251.

remained in use till the beginning of the fifth century A C at least

As no definite information is available about the original findspot of the present plates, it is not easy to locate the places mentioned in them, and none have been identified so far After a good deal of search for them, I have been able to find some of them in the respective directions in the Bālāghāt District of Madhya Pradesh **Kōśamba** which lay to the north of the donated village is probably identical with Kośambakhanda which Pravarasēna II granted by his Tirodī plates As shown elsewhere, the latter is identical with Kōsamba, 6 miles to the south of Tirōdī **Añjanavātaka** which defined the eastern boundary of the donated village is probably Añjanwādī, about 5 miles to the south-east of Kōsamba **Kōbidārikā** which lay to the west of the donated village may be Kunargaon, 4 miles south by west of Kosamba These three villages thus lie in the same directions as those stated in the present grant **Gēpuraka** and **Ārāmaka** cannot, however, be found in the neighbourhood of these villages If these identifications are correct, the grant may have originally belonged to the Bālāghāt District

Text[1]

Second Plate First side

1 द(दौ)हित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटक(का)नाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनो[*]
2 अत्य[न्त]म(मा)हेश्वरस्य सत्यार्ज्जवकारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्य-
3 धि(धी)मत्व[त्त्व]पात्रगतभक्तित्वधर्म्मविजयित्वमनोनैर्म्मल्यादिगुणसमुदितस्य
4 वर्षशतमभ(भि)वर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौ[त्रिण][*] युधिष्ठिर-
5 वृतेर्व्वाकाटकाना(ना) श्रीप्रि(पृ)थिविषेणस्य सूनो भगवतश्चकपाणे[*]
6 प्रसादोपार्ज्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य वाकाटकाना(ना) महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेन-

Second Plate Second Side

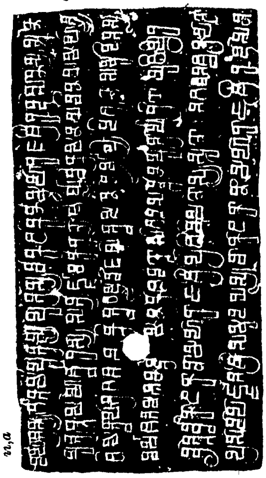
7 स्य सूनो[*] महाराजाधिराजश्रि(श्री)देवगुप्तसुताया(या) प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्न-
8 स्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचना[त्*] गेपुरकमार्ग्गे अस्म-
9 त्सन्तिका[2]स्सर्व्वाद्धियक्षनियोगनियुक्ता आज्ञासचारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भटा-
10 [च्छा][3]त्राश्च व्युषितपूर्व्वमया[4]ज्ञया ज्ञापयितव्या[*] विदितमस्तु व
11 यवा(थे) हास्माभिरात्मनो ध्ध(ध)र्म(र्म्मा)युर्ब्ल(ब्बे)ल(लै)श्वर्य्यविवृद्धिय[5] इहामुत्रहितात्थ
12 वैजयिके धर्म्मस्थाने आरामकस्य उत्तरपार्श्वे कोविदारिकाया(या) पूर्व्व-
13 पार्श्वे मुल दतामिति ।[6]

Third Plate First Side

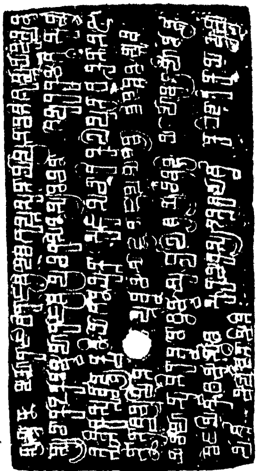
14 कोशम्बकस्य दक्षिणपाश्व(र्श्वे) अञ्जनव(वा)टकस्य अपरप(पा)र्श्वे विशाखार्य्यवाटक-
15 स्य(वाटक) अ(आ)रामकवास्तव्यवाजिकौशिकसगोत्रविशाखार्य्यपुत्रगोण्डा-
16 र्य्याय गोण्डार्य्यपुत्रमनोरथार्य्याय गोवार्य्याय देवार्य्याय
17 बाप्पार्य्याय च कुमारार्य्याय द्रोणार्य्याय पूव्व(र्व्व)दत्ता इति कृत्वा
18 यतोस्म(स्मा)भि [*] शासननिबन्धꣳकृत अपूर्व्वदत्ता(त्त्या) उदकपूर्व्वमतिसृष्ट. [।*]
19 उचिता(ता)श्चास्य पूर्व्वराजानुमता(तान्) चातुर्व्व(र्व्वै)द्यग्राममर्य्यादाम्परिहा[7] वित-

[1] From facsimiles facing p 55 in *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIV
[2] Read अस्मत्सन्तका as in other Vākāṭaka grants
[3] The superscript letter is imperfectly incised Read -श्छात्रा-
[4] Read विश्रुतपूर्व्वया.
[5] Read विवृद्धये
[6] The words मुल(मूले) दत्ता(त्त)मिनि are to be connected with भगवत्पाद -in line 20, below.
[7] Read ग्राममर्य्यादापरिहारान्

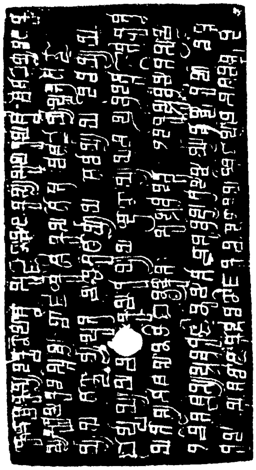
INDORE PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II



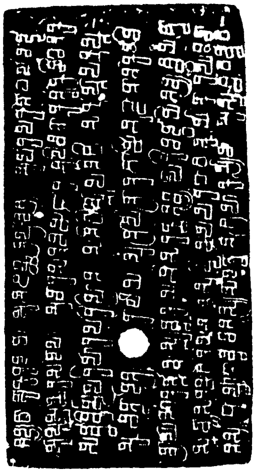
ii,a



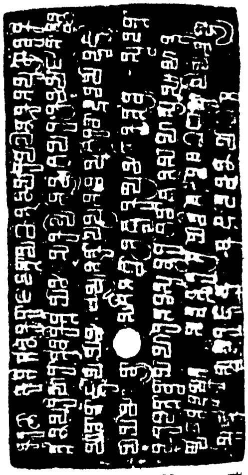
ii,b



iii,a



iii,b



iv

20 राम [।*]अत्र वाटा(ट)कार्द्ध(र्द्ध) वाणिजकचद्रेण क्रयक्रीत ब्राह्म(णे)भ्यो भगवत्पाद[1] -

Third Plate Second Side

21 तद्यथा अकरदायी अभटच्छत्रप्रावेश्य[*] अपारपरतो(गो)बलिवर्द्द [*]
22 अपुष्पक्षि(क्षी)रसन्दोह अचार(रा)सनचमा(र्म्मा)ङ्गार[*] अलवणक्लित्व(न्न)क्रणिखनक[*]
23 सर्व्वविष्टिपरिहारपरिह्रि(हृ)त सतिधि सोपतिथि[2] अक्लृप्तोपक्लृप्त
24 आचन्द्रादित्यकालीय पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी भुञ्जता(ता) न केनचि [द्*]
25 व्याघात(त) न[3] कर्त्तव्यस्सर्व्वक्र(क्रि)याभि[*] स(स)रक्षितव्यᳶपरिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च [।*] यश्चा-
26 स्मच्छासनमगनि(ण)यमाना(न) स्वल्पामपि परिबाधात्कुर्यात्कारयिन वा[4]
27 तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेवि(दि)तस्य सदण्डनिग्रह कुर्य्याम[5] [।*] अस्मिश्च[6] धर्म्म(र्म्मा)धि-

Fourth Plate

28 करणे[7] अतीतानेकराजदत्ता(त्त)सञ्चित्न(न्त)नपरिपालन(न) कृतपुण्यानुकि(की)-
29 र्त्तनपरिहारार्त्थ(र्त्थ) न कीर्त्तयाम [।*] सकल्पाभिद्योध[8]पराक्रम(मो)पजा(जि)तान्वत्थ(र्त्त)-
30 घाता(माना)नाज्ञापयाम [।*] एष्यत्कालप्रभवि[ष्णा](ष्णु)गौरवाद्भविषाद्विज्ञा-
31 पयाम[9][।*] व्यासगीतश्चात्र श्लोकᳶप्रमाणीकर्त्तव्य । स्वदत्ता(त्ता)
32 परदत्ताव्वा[10] यो हरेत वसुन्धरा(राम् ।) गवा(वा) शतसहस्रस्य हन्तु- ।
33 ᳶपिबति दुष्कृत[11](तम् ॥) सवत्सरे त्रयोविशे वैशाखबहुलपचम्या
34 आज्ञा स्वय(यम् ।) रजुककोट्टदेवेन लिखितम् [।*]

Translation

(The first plate of this grant is not forthcoming)

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II),** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas** born of **Prabhāvatīguptā,** the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta,**-who is the son of the illustrious **Rudrasēna (II),** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākāṭakas**—

(*For translation of lines* 1 *to* 6, see above, pp 13-14)

(Line 8) In the territorial division (*mārga*)[12] of **Gēpuraka** Our officials of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the *Sarvādhyaksha* (General Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (*Our*) command and (*Our*) soldiers and policemen should be directed by the (*following*) command which is already well known to them -

" Be it known to you that here in Our victorious place of religious worship in order to increase Our religious merit, life, power (*and*) prosperity (*and*) for (*Our*) well-being in this world and the next, We have recorded in a charter this gift as it was previously made—*viz* (*the gift of*) the village[13] situated to the north of **Ārāmaka,** to the east of **Kōvidārikā,**

[1] The following words मले दत्तमिति occur in a corrupt form in line 13, above
[2] Read सनिधि सोपनिधि
[3] This word is superfluous.
[4] Read परिबाधा कुर्यात्कारयेद्वा
[5] Read कुर्य्याम
[6] The *anusvāra* of स्मि is placed on च
[7] Other Vākātaka grants generally read धर्म्मादिरकरणे
[8] Read सकल्पाभियोग-
[9] Read भविष्यान्विज्ञापयाम ।
[10] Read परदत्ता वा
[11] Metre *Anushtubh*
[12] *Mārga* seems to denote a territorial division, for no place is mentioned here as situated on the road to Gēpuraka
[13] The name of the village has been omitted through inadvertence. The name of Viśākhārya, the father of Gōndārya, one of the donees, has been prefixed to *vātaka* by mistake

to the south of **Kōśambaka,** (*and*) to the west of **Añjanavāṭaka,** (*made*) to Gōndārya, son of Viśākhārya of the Vāji-Kauśika *gōtra*, who resides at **Ārāmaka** (*and to*) Manōrthārya, son of Gondārya, (*and*) Gōvārya, Dēvārya, Bāppārya, Kumārārya (*and*) Drōnārya, and We have given it as a gift not previously made with the pouring out of water Half of this village was donated to the Brāhmanas by the Merchant **Chandra** near the foot-prints of the **Bhagavat,** after having purchased it (from Us)[1]

And We grant here the (*following*) exemptions incident to a village donated to a Brāhmana, proficient in the four Vēdas:—

(*For translation of lines* 21-28, *see above, p* 14.)

(Line 29) We command the present rulers who have been vanquished by Our resolve, attack and valour and We request the future lords out of reverence for them

The (*following*) verse sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authoritative on this point

(*Here occurs an imprecatory verse*)

(Line 33). (*This charter*) has been written on the **fifth** (*lunar day*) in the **dark** (*fortnight*) of **Vaiśākha** in the **twenty-third** (regnal) year The order (*was communicated*) by (*the king*) himself[2]. (*The charter has been*) written by the *Rajuka* **Kōṭṭadēva.**

[1] In the original this statement occurs partly in line 20 and partly in line 13. In both the cas it has been misplaced. See above, p. 39, n. 1..

[2] As the order was communicated by the king himself, no *Dūtaka* has been named in this charte

No 10 · Plate X

DUDIĀ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates were in the possession of some Gonds at **Dudiā** in the Aser *parganā* of the Chhindwārā District of Madhya Pradesh They have been edited before, with facsimiles, by Dr Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol III, pp 258 They are edited here from the same facsimiles

"The **copper-plates** are four in number, each of which measures 7½″ long by 3⅝″ broad The second and third plates are inscribed on both sides, the first plate is so on one side, and the fourth is blank and merely serves to protect the writing on the second side of the third plate The plates are quite smooth, their edges having been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims, but the writing, nevertheless, is in an excellent state of preservation About 1¼″ distant from the middle of the proper right margin, each plate has a hole, about 7/16″ in diameter, for a ring on which the plates were strung The ring is between ¼″ and ⅜″ thick, and 3⅞″ in diameter The two ends of the piece of copper of which it is formed are flattened off, and contain holes for a rivet, which has been lost On the ring slides a copper band, ¾″ broad, which is bent into a ring of ⅞″ by 1⅜″ in diameter, and the two ends of which are soldered together Through the soldered part a hole is drilled, which corresponds to a hole in the centre of a circular **seal;** and a rivet, which also is lost now, must have held the copper band and the seal together Owing to the loss of the two rivets, the ring, the copper band and the seal are now quite loose The seal is 3 1/16″ diameter, and has across its surface a legend in four lines The weight of the four plates is 3¼ lbs , that of the ring, the copper band and the seal is ½ lb , total, 3¾ lbs [1]"

The **characters** belong to the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the preceding Indore plates Like the latter, they show two forms of *n* and *b*, the curve of *l* encircles the letter on the left as in *-lalāmasya* in line 1 of the seal, the sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in line 22 and that of the *upadhmānīya* in line 3 of the seal and line 16 of the plates Inter-punctuation is shown by one or more horizontal or vertical strokes The **language** is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the legend on the seal and one imprecatory verse in line 27-28, the whole record is in prose As regards **orthography,** we find that a consonant has been reduplicated before and after *r* as in *parākkram-*, lines 4-5 and *-Āptōryyām-*, line 1, before *y* as in *Bhāgīratthy-amala-*, line 5, and after *anusvāra* in *samvvatsarē*, line 28

The inscription, which opens with *drishtam*, is one of the **Vākāṭaka** *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna II.** His genealogy is given here exactly as in the Jāmb plates, his maternal grandfather being called **Dēvagupta.** The **object** of it is to record the grant, by **Pravarasēna,** of 25 (*nivartanas*) of land at **Darbhamalaka** in the **Chandrapura sangamikā,** to one **Yakshārya** of the Kauśika *gōtra*, and of sixty (*nivartanas*) of land[2] at the village of **Karmakāra** in the **Hiranyapura** *bhoga* to one **Kāliśarman** of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* The order is addressed to the royal officers, soldiers and policemen in the **Ārammi-rājya** in which evidently both the aforementioned villages were situated The charter was written by **Gōladāsa** while **Namidāsa** was the *Sēnāpati* It was issued from **Pravarapura.**

---

[1] *Ep Ind*, Vol III, pp 258-59

[2] The figures of land (*bhūmi*) given here, like those in the Chammak plates, probably refer to the *nivartanas* See line 22 of the Pattan plates (No 13, below) which mention 400 *nivartanas* of land according to the royal measure

The record is **dated,** in line 28, on the **tenth day** of the **fourth fortnight** of the **rainy season** in the **twenty-third year** evidently of Pravarasēna II's reign It does not admit of verification, but probably corresponds to the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of the month Bhādrapada The date is noteworthy as it is one of the two **season dates** known so far from Vākātaka inscriptions In all other inscriptions dates are recorded in lunar months and *tithis*

The **localities** mentioned in the present grant have not yet been satisfactorily identified Dr Kielhorn suggested the identification of **Chandrapura** with Chāndpur, 'which lies to the south of Siwanī and to the west of the Wengangā river[1]', but he could not locate the other places mentioned in the grant Dr Hiralal proposed to identify **Ārammi** with Ārvī, the chief town of the Ārvī *tahsil* of the Wardhā District, and Chandrapura with Chāndur where there is a confluence of the two rivers Chandrabhāgā and Sarasvatī Further, he suggested that **Hiranyapura** might be Sōnegaon near Chāndur and **Karmakāra,** Kalamgaon close to the same town[2] These identifications also are not quite satisfactory A clue to location of the places is possibly afforded by the mention of Hiranyapura This town may have been situated on the river Hiranyā which is mentioned in the Wadgaon plates of Pravarasena II As shown elsewhere, this Hiranyā is identical with the modern river Eraī[3] Chandrapura may be the modern Chāndā, the chief town of the Chāndā District This old name of the town is still current Near Chāndā there is the confluence of the two rivers, Ēraī and Jharpat In fact the town of Chāndā is situated in the angle formed by these two rivers so that its situation answers to the description of Chandrapura in the present grant viz that it was a *sangamikā* or 'a tract of land near the confluence of two rivers', but the mention of Ārammi-rājya in the recently discovered Pāndhurnā plates[4] also has raised doubts about these identifications Since both the grants which mention Ārammi-rājya come from the Chhindwārā District, we must evidently look for the places situated in them in that very district As shown elsewhere, some of the localities referred to in the Pāndhurnā plates can be identified in the neighbourhood of Pāndhurnā, which indicates that Ārammi the headquarters of that division, may be modern Āmlā, about 40 miles north by west of Pāndhurnā None of the places mentioned in the present grant can, however, be traced in that region, unless Hiranyapura is Harankhedī, about 6 miles north of Multāi

TEXT[5]

First Plate

1 दृष्टम् [।*] प्रवरपु[रा]त्[6] अग्निष्टोम(मा)प्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्यतिरात्र[7]वाजपेयबृहस्पति-
2 सवसाद्यस्कचतुरश्वमेधयाजिन विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्राट(ज) वाकाटकानाम्म-
3 हाराजश्रि(श्री)प्रवरसेनस्य सूनो. सूनो अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य असभारस-
4 न्निवेशितशि[व*]लिङ्गोद्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवशानाम्पराक्क-
5 माधिगतभागि(गी)रत्थ्यमलजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधावभृत(थ)स्नातानाम्भा-
6 रशिवानाम्महाराजश्रि(श्री)भगवनागदौहित्रस्य गौतमि(मी)पुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाट-
7 कानाम्मह(हा)राजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनो अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्याज्जवकारुण्य-

[1] *Ep Ind*, Vol III, p 260
[2] *I C P.B*, p 93
[3] Below, p 54.
[4] No 14, lines 26 and 29
[5] From the fasimiles facing pages 260 and 261 in *Ep. Ind*, Vol III
[6] Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed
[7] Originally -तिरोत्र, changed to -तिरात्र

Second Plate First Side

8 शौर्य्यविक्क्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधि (धी) मत्व (त्त्व) पात्रगत[1]भक्तित्वधर्म्मविजयित्वमनोनैर्म्मल्य-(ल्या) दिगु-

9 णै [*] समुदितस्य वर्षशतमभी (भि) वर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिण युधिष्ठिर-वृत्तेर्व्वा-

10 काटकान (ना) म्महाराजश्रीपृथिविषेन (ण) स्य सूनो भगवतश्चक्रपाणे[*] प्रसादोपाज्जि-(र्ज्जि) तश्रीसमुद-

11 यस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रि (श्री) रुद्रसेनस्य सूनो महाराजाधिराजदेवगुप्त-

12 सुताया (या) प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य वाकाटकानाम्मह (हा) राजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य

13 वा (व) चनात् आरम्मिराज्ये अस्मत्सन्तकास्सर्व्वाद्धचक्षनियोगनियुक्ता आज्ञासञ्चारि-कुल-

Second Plate: Second Side

14 पुत्र (त्रा) धिकृता भटाश्छात्र (त्रा) श्च व्युषतपूर्व्वमयाज्ञाय[2] ज्ञापयितव्या [।*] विदितमस्तु व (व) यथेहास्माभि-

15 रात्मनो धर्म्मायुर्ब्बलमैश्वर्य्य[3]विवृद्धये इहामुत्रहितार्त्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजयैके[4] धर्म्मस्थाने चन्द्रपुर-

16 सङ्गमिकाया [5] दर्ब्भमलके भूमे[च][6]ऽपञ्चविशा[7] कौशिकसगोत्र (त्रा) य यक्षार्य्याय हिरण्यपुरभोगे

17 कर्म्मकारग्रामे भूमे[*] षष्टि[*] कौण्डिन्यसगोत्राय कालिशर्म्माय[8] अपूर्व्वदत्या (त्त्या) उदकपूर्व्व-

18 मतिसृष्ट [9] [।*] उचिताश्चास्य[10] पूर्व्वराजानुमता चातुर्व्वैद्यग्राममय्या (र्य्या) दा[11]परिहारा-र्त्थन्वितरामस्त-[12]

19 त[13]द्यथा अकरदायिन्यौ[14] अभटच्छत्रप्रावेश्य[15] अपारम्परगोबलीवर्द्द[16] अपुष्पक्षि (क्षी) र-

Third Plate First Side

20 सन्दोहौ अवा (चा) रासनचर्म्माङ्गारौ । अलवणक्लिन्नक्केणिखनकौ सर्व्व (वे) ष्टिपरिहारपरी-(रि) हृतौ

21 सनिधिस्सोपनि[धी][17] । सक्लि (क्लृ) प्तोपक्लि (क्लृ) प्तौ । आचन्द्रादित्यकालीयौ पुत्रपौत्रानु-गामी (मिनौ) भुञ्जता (ता) न केनचि-

---

[1] Kielhorn's suggestion that the correct reading is पात्रागत- does not appear to be correct

[2] Read विश्रुतपूर्व्वयाज्ञया.

[3] Read -र्ब्बलैश्वर्य-

[4] Read वैजयिके

[5] Read सङ्गमिकाया

[6] This *akshara* is superfluous

[7] Read भूमे पञ्चविंशति

[8] Read कालिशर्म्मणे.

[9] Read -मतिसृष्टा

[10] Read उचिता चास्या

[11] Read either ग्राममर्य्यादा वितराम or ग्रामपरिहारान् वितराम See No 2, line 16 and No 3, line 25.

[12] The *visarga* after म is cancelled.

[13] This *akshara* is superfluous

[14] Read अकरदायिनौ This is supposed to qualify some word like भूमिखण्डौ

[15] Read -प्रावेश्यौ

[16] Read -बलीवर्द्दौ

[17] Read सनिधी सोपनिधी

22 व्या(द्वया)घात ऽ कर्त्तव्य सर्वक्रियाभिस्सरक्षितव्य परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च[1] [।] यश्चास्मच्छासना-(न)मगन(ण)य-
23 माने (न) स्वल्षा(पा)मपि परिबाधा[2] कुर्य्यात्कारयित वा[3] तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य सदण्ड-
24 निग्रहङ्कुर्य्याम (म) अस्मी(स्मि)श्च धर्म्मादिरकरणे अतीतानेकराजदत्ता सञ्चिन्तन[4]-परिपालन(न)
25 कृतपुण्यानुकीर्तनपरिहारार्त्थन्न कीर्त्तयाम [।*] सङ्कल्पाभिद्योध(योग)पराक्क्रमोपजित(ता)-न्वर्त्तमाना-

Third Plate · Second Side

26 नाज्ञापयाम । एष्यतत्काल[5]प्रभविष्णुगौरवा(वा)न्भविष्यान्विज्ञापयाम. [।*] व्यासगीतश्चात्र श्लोक [6]
27 प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्य । स्वदत्ताम्परद[त्ता] व्वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरान्(म्) [।*] गवा(वा) शतसह-स्रस्य हत्तु(न्तु)र्ह-
28 रति दुष्कृतम्[7] [।।*] सव्वत्सरे त्रयोवित्शतिमे[8] वर्षापक्षे चतुर्थे दिवसे दशमे सेनापतौ ।[6]
29 नमिदासे ।[6] लिखित गोलदासेन ।।

Seal

1 वाकाटकललामस्य ।[6]
2 क्क्रमप्राप्यनृपश्रियम्[9] [।*]
3 राज्ञ× प्रवरसेनस्य ।[6]
4 शासन रिपुशासनम्[7] [।।*]

TRANSLATION

Seen From **Pravarapura**—

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II),** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas,** born of **Prabhavatīguptā,** the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta,** who is the son of the illustrious **Rudrasēna (II),** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**—

(*For translation of lines* 1-10, *see above, pp* 13-14)

(Line 13) Our officers of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the *Sarvādhyaksha* (General Superintendent) (*and*) who exercise their authority by (*Our*) command and (*Our*) soldiers and policemen in the **Ārammi-rājya** should be directed by the following command which is well known (*to them*) —

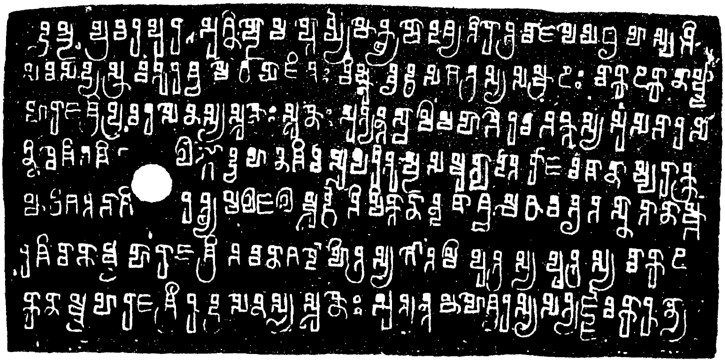
" Be it known to you that in order to increase Our religious merit, life, power and prosperity and to obtain blessings for ourself, We have donated here at Our place of religious worship with the pouring out of water twenty-five *nivartanas* of land in (*the village of*)

---

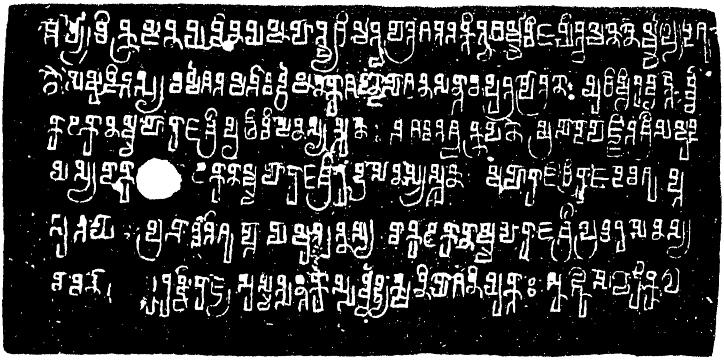
[1] Read -स्मरक्षितव्यौ परिवर्द्धयितव्यौ च
[2] This *anusvāra* is wrongly placed over the following *akshara*.
[3] Read कारयेद्वा
[4] Read -राजदत्तसञ्चिन्तन-
[5] Read एष्यत्काल-
[6] This sign of punctuation is superfluous
[7] Metre *Anushtubh*
[8] Read सवत्सरे त्रयोविंशतितमे
[9] Read प्राप्तनृपश्रिय

DUDIĀ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

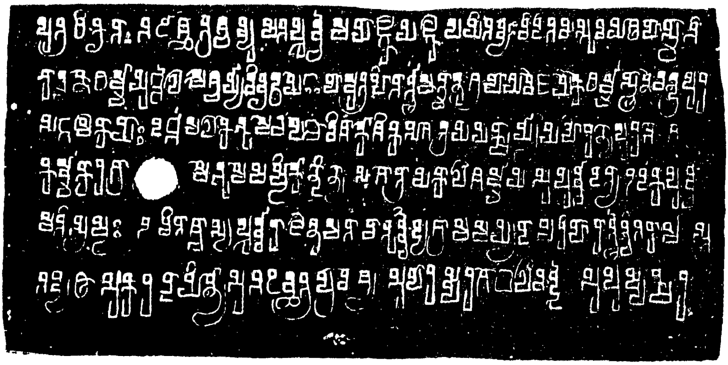
i



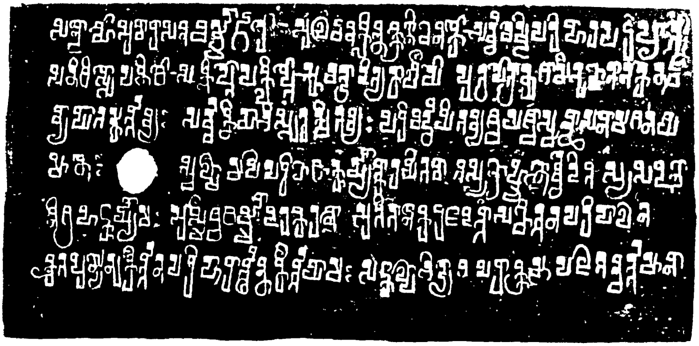
ii,a



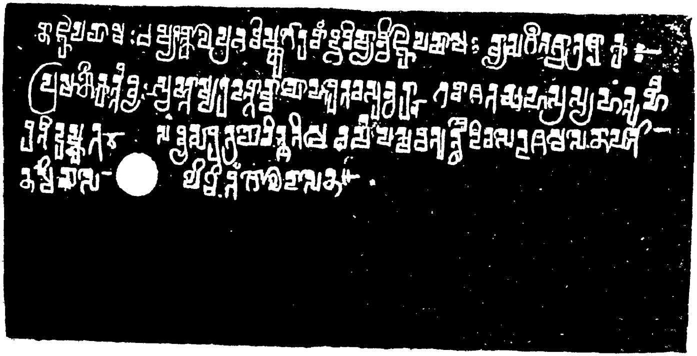
ii,b



iii,a



iii,b



Seal

Darbhamalaka in the **Sangamikā** of **Chandrapura** to **Yakshārya** of the Kauśika *gōtra*, and sixty *nivartanas* of land in the village of **Karmakāra** situated in the *bhōga* of **Hiranyapura** to **Kāliśarman** of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, as gifts not previously made

(*For translation of lines* 18-25, *see above, p* 14.)

(Line 25). We issue this order to the present rulers (who have been) vanquished by Our resolve, attack or valour. (*And*) We make this request to future (*rulers*) out of reverence for them

(Line 26) And the following verse sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authoritative on this point

(*Here occurs an imprecatory verse*)

(Line 28) (*This charter*) has been written by **Gōladāsa,** while **Namidāsa** is the *Sēnāpati*, on the **tenth day** in the **fourth fortnight** of the **twenty-third** (*regnal*) **year.**

Seal

(*For translation of the legend on the seal, see above, p.* 27)

No 11 Plate XI

TIRŌDĪ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates were found at the manganese mine of **Tirōdī,** 8 miles south-east of Katangī, in the Bālāghāt District of Madhya Pradesh They were made over to me for publication by Mr T A Wellsted, Manager of the Manganese Mines, Mansar I edited them with facsimiles and an English translation in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXI, pp 167 f They are edited here from the same facsimiles The plates are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The **copper-plates** are four in number, each measuring 7 7″ × 3 8″ The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only, and the other two on both the sides Their ends are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims, still the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation About 2 1″ from the proper right margin, the plates have a roundish hole, 4″ in diameter for a circular ring to connect them The ends of this ring, which is 3 3″ in diameter, were flattened off so as to overlap and were joined with a pin They were so secured when the plates were sent to the Nāgpur Museum On this ring slides a small circular band about 7″ broad and 3 8″ in circumference, to which is secured with a rivet a flat circular copper **seal**, 2 7″ in diameter The weight of the plates is 126 *tōlās*, and that of the ring, the band and the seal is 18½ *tōlās* Each inscribed side of the first two plates contains six lines, that of the third, five lines, and that of the fourth, only four lines

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets They resemble those of the other grants of Pravarasēna II The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows — The length of the medial *ī* is shown either by a ringlet in the curve representing short *i* as in *pramānī-*, line 29, or by another curve turned in the opposite direction as in *trayōvīśe*, line 31 The medial *ō* also is shown in two ways, (i) with a *mātrā* on each side of a consonant as in *Shōdashy-*, line 1 and (ii) with a curve on the right side only as in *bhuñjatō*, line 23. The medial *au* is everywhere bipartite *D* and *d* are not clearly distinguished, cf *Shōdashy-*, line 1, and *samuditasya*, line 8 *B* appears in two forms as in other Vākātaka inscriptions In its subscript form it appears like *v* in one place, see *āyur-bbala*, line 15 and *-udvahana-*, line 4 The *visarga* signifies a double mark of punctuation in lines 13, 24, 26 etc The completion of the record is shown by a long horizontal line

The **language** is Sanskrit Except for the legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory verse towards the close, the whole record is in prose The **orthography** shows the usual reduplication of a consonant after *r* and *anusvāra*, and of that before *y* The use of *ri* for the vowel *ri* and of *li* for the vowel *li* may also be noted, see *drishtam*, line 1 and *sa-klipt-opakliptah*, lines 22-23 On the other hand, *ṛi* occurs for *ri* in *sarvva-kriyabhi-*, line 24 The final consonant is dropped in some places, see *-sthānā*, line 1 and *-dvādaśyā*, line 31

The plates were issued from **Narattangavāri** by the **Vākātaka** *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna II.** His genealogy is given as in his other grants The inscription opens with *dṛishṭam*, 'seen'. The **object** of it is to record the grant of the village **Kōśambakhanda** to a Brāhmana named **Varuṇārya** of the Haikari *gōtra* and the Atharvavēda, who was a resident of **Chāndrapura** and was proficient in three Vēdas The donated village was bounded on the east by **Jamalī,** on the south by **Vardhamānaka,** on the west by **Mrigasima** and on the north by **Mallakapēdhaka.** As the order is addressed to the officers and soldiers in the western division (*apara-paṭṭa*)

of **Bennākata,** it is evident that the donated village was situated in it The grant was written by the Chief Minister (*Rājy-ādhikrita*) **Chamidāsa**[1] by the King's own order

The grant is **dated,** in words, on the **twelfth day** of the **dark fortnight** of **Māgha** in the **twenty-third year,** evidently of Pravarasēna II's reign Unlike most other grants of Pravarasēna II, the present grant was not made at the royal capital[2], but at a place called **Narattaṅgavāri** which may have been a *tīrtha* The month of Māgha is specially praised in the Purānas as very sacred, and various legends are narrated in them to evince the great merit of bathing at a holy place during that month[3] The eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrnimānta* Māgha, which is called Shattilā Ēkādaśī and is observed as a fast-day, is highly glorified in the *Padmapurāna*[4] Pravarasena may therefore have gone to the **Narattaṅgavāri** *tīrtha* to bathe there on the Shattilā Ēkādaśī day and may have made the present grant on the following day before breaking his fast The grant was made by him for his religious merit, life, strength and prosperity, for securing his well-being in this world and the next, as well as for augmenting the religious merit of his mother As he mentions only his mother and not his father also, who was long since dead, it is likely that she was living at the time of the present grant and may have accompanied him to the holy place Only four years before, she had made her own grant recorded in the Riddhapur plates

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the present plates, **Narattangavāri** was probably a *tīrtha* as suggested above This is probably a joint name like Nāgapura-Nandivardhana, and means Vāri near Narattanga[5] In that case it can be identified with Wāri, also called Bhairavagadh, now a deserted village on the river Bān or Wān in the extreme north-west of the Akōt *tahsil* in the Akōlā District[6] It is only 18 miles to the west of the old fort of Narnālā, which probably represents ancient Narattanga, and is still regarded as a holy place **Kōśambakhanda,** the donated village, is evidently Kōsamba, about 6 miles to the north-east of Tirōdī, where the plates were found **Bennākata** was evidently a district[7] comprising the territory round the modern village Bēnī, 35 miles to the east of Kōsamba in the Gondiā *tahsil* of the Bhandārā District, which may have been its headquarters The district seems to have been divided into two parts by the river Bennā, modern Waingangā[8] Kosamba, which now represents ancient Kōśambakhanda, is only 20 miles from the Waingangā, and was evidently included in the western division (*apara-patta*) of Bennākata Of the villages that formed its boundaries, only one can now be traced **Jamali** which bounded it on the east is probably modern Jamuntōlā, 3 miles to the east of Kōsamba **Chāndrapura,** where the

---

[1] Dr N P Chakravarti suggests that the name may be read as Navamidāsa

[2] It is noteworthy that the expression *vaiyayikē dharmasthānē*, which occurs in the grants made at the royal capital, does not occur in this charter

[3] Cf कामधेनुर्यथा काम चिन्तामणिस्तु चिन्तितम् । माघस्नान ददातीह तद्वत्सर्वमनोरथान् ॥ *Padmapurāna, Uttarakhanda, adhyāya* 124, v 164

[4] *Ibid*, *Uttarakānda, adhyāya* 43, vv 5 f

[5] As there are now and were probably in ancient Vidarbha several villages named Vāri or Vārkhed, Narattanga seems to have been fixed to the place-name to define the position of the place intended

[6] At this place there are ruins of a fort called Bhairavgadh, with an image of Kāla-Bhairava The place may have attained importance in the time of Pravarasēna II s ancestor Rudrasēna I, who was a fervent devotee of Kāla-Bhairava

[7] Bhōjakata is another name ending in *kata* The *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparvan, adhyāya 31, vv 10-12, states that Sahadēva vanquished the lords of Bhōjakata and Vēṇātata The name of the latter occurs as Vēnākata in many Grantha MSS of the epic,

[8] Bennākārpara-bhōga mentioned in the Siwanī plates is another territorial division named after the river Bennā As shown elsewhere, the villages mentioned as situated therein can be identified in the Āmgaon Zamindarī, east of the Waingangā

donee was living, is probably identical with Chāndpur It lies only twelve miles to the south-east of Kosamba and contains an old fort The other villages cannot be identified.

Text[1]

First Plate

1 द्रि(दृ)ष्टम् [।*] नरतङ्गवारिस्थाना[त्*] अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्य[ति]रात्रवाजपेय-
बृहस्पतिस-
2 वसाद्यस्कचतुरश्वमेधयाजिन[2] विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्राट्(जो) वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्री-
3 प्रवरसेनस्य सूनो· सूनोरत्यन्त[3]स्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य ।[4] असभारसन्निवेशि-
4 तशिवलिङ्गोद्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवशाना पराक्रमाधिगतभागी-
5 रत्थ्या(तथ्य)मलजलमूर्द्ध्ना(र्द्धा)भिषिक्ताना[5]म्महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य गौतमी-
6 पुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रि(श्री)रुद्रसेनस्य सु(सू)नो

Second Plate · First Side

7 अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्या[र्ज्ज]वकारुन्य(ण्य)शौर्य्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधि(धी)मत्व(त्त्व)
8 गतभन्तिक्व[6]धर्म्मविजयित्वमनोनैम्म(र्म्म)ल्यादिगुणै[*]समुदितस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमा-
9 नकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिण युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्व्वाकाटकाना(ना)म्महा-
10 राजश्रीपृथिविसेनस्य[7] सूनो[*] भगवतश्चक्रपाणेःप्रसादोपार्ज्जितश्रीसमुदस्य
11 वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनो महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्त-
12 सुताया(या)म्प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य ।[8] वाकाटकानामहा-

Second Plate · Second Side

13 राजश्रि(श्री)प्रवरसेनस्य वचना[त्*] । बेन्नाकटस्य अपरपट्टे ।।[8] अस्मत्सन्तकास्सर्व्वाद्ध्यक्ष-
नियोग-
14 नियुक्ता आज्ञासचारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भटाच्छात्राश्च[9] व्युषितपूर्व्वमयाज्ञाया[10]ज्ञापयितव्या [।*]
15 विदितमस्तु व यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्म्मायुर्ब्बलमैश्वर्य्यविवृद्धये[11] इहामुत्रहि-
16 नार्त्थं मातु[पु]ण्योपचयार्त्थं जमल्या अपरपार्श्वे वर्द्धमानकस्य उत्तरपार्श्वे
17 मृगसिमस्य पूर्व्वपार्श्वे मल्लकपेधकस्य दक्षिणपार्श्वे कोशम्बखण्ड नाम ग्राम.
18 चाद्ध(चाद्र)पुरवस्तव्यअथेर्व्वाण[12]हर्क्करि[13]सगोत्रवरुणार्य्याय त्रिवेदाय दत्त[14]

Third Plate: First Side

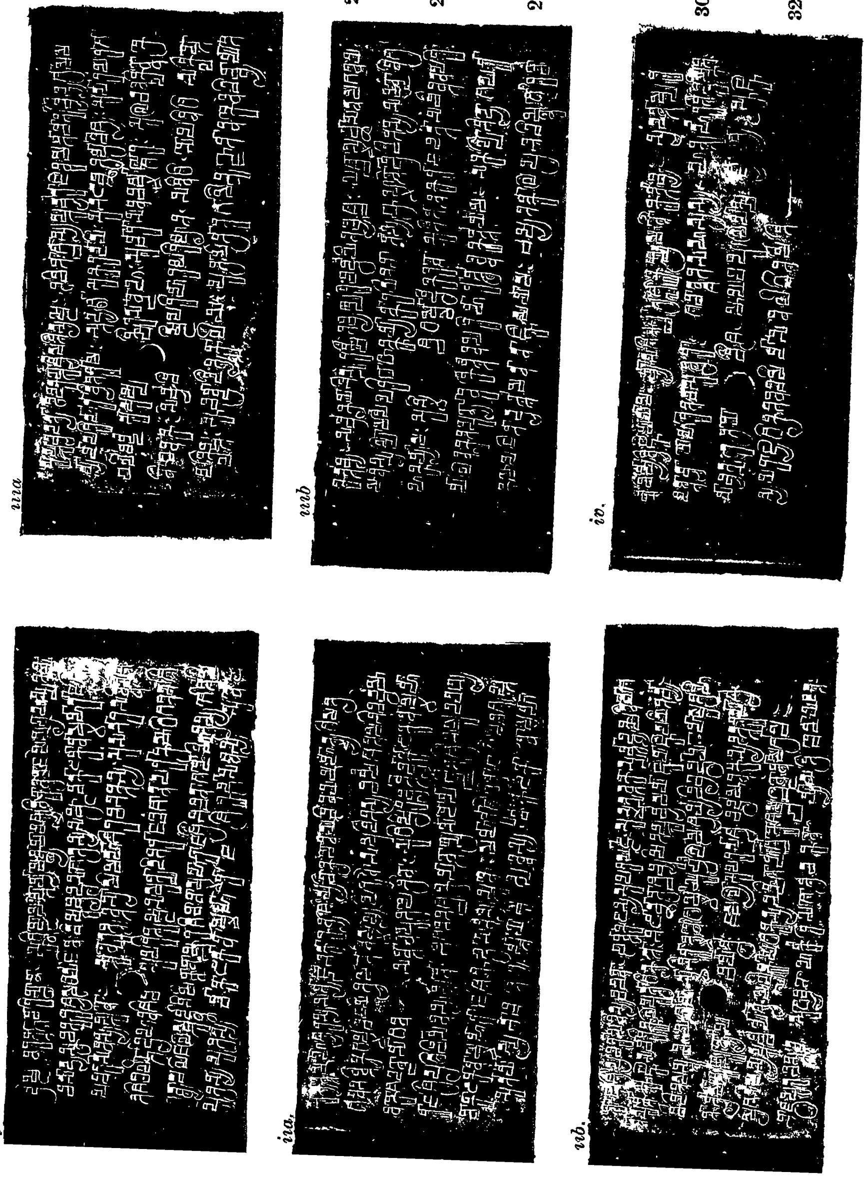
19 अपूर्व्वदत्या[15] उदकपूर्व्वमतिसृष्ट [।*] उचितांश्चास्य पूर्वराजानुमताचा(तांश्चा)तुर्व्वैद्यग्रामम
20 र्य्यादापरिहारान्वितराम स्तद्यथा[16] अकरदायि (यी) अभटच्छ(च्छा)त्रप्रावेश्य अपारंपरगो

---

1 From the facsimiles facing pages 172 and 173 in *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XXII.
2 Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed
3 The box at the top of न्त is not complete
4 This sign of punctuation is superfluous
5 The adjective दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नाताना which occurs in other cognate plates is omitted here.
6 Read -पात्रगतभक्तित्व-
7 Read पृथिवीषेणस्य
8 This sign of punctuation is superfluous
9 Read भटाश्छात्राश्च
10 Read विश्रुतपूर्व्वयाज्ञया-
11 Read -र्ब्बलैश्वर्य्य-
12 Read -वास्तव्याथर्वण-
13 The *gōtra* is named हार्क्करि in the *Gotrapravarambandhakadamba*.
14 This word is superfluous
15 Read अपूर्व्वदत्त्या
16 Read -न्वितरामस्तद्यथा

Plate XI.

TIRŌDĪ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II



i, iia, iib, iiia, iiib, iv.

21 बलिबर्द्द[*] अपुष्पक्षि(क्षी) रसन्दोह अचारासनचर्म्माङ्गार अलवन(ण) क्लिण्ण(न्न) के-
22 णिखनक सर्व्वविष्टिपरिहारपरिहृत सनिधि सोपनिधि[*] सक्लि(क्लृ)प्तो-
23 पक्लि(क्लृ)प्त आचन्द्रादित्यकालीय पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी भुञ्जतो न केनचिव्व्याघात[1]

Third Plate Second Side

24 कर्त्तव्य सर्व्वक्रु(क्रि)याभिस्सरक्षितव्यःपरिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च ॥ यश्चास्मच्छासनमगन(ण)य-
25 मानस्स्वल्पामपि परिबाधात्कुर्य्यात्कारयित[2] वा तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य सदण्ड निग्र-
26 ह कुर्य्याम ॥ अस्मि(स्मि)श्च धर्म्माद्धि(धि)करणे अतीतानेकराजदत्ता सचीन्तन[3]परि-
27 पालन(न) कृतपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्त्थन्न क(की)र्त्तयाम· सकल्पाभिद्यो(यो)गपरा-
28 क्रमोपजिताव्व(न्व)र्त्तम(मा)नानाज्ञापयाम एष्यतत्काल[4]प्रभविष्णुगौरवा-

Fourth Plate

29 व्भ(द्ध)विष्यान्विज्ञापयाम [।*] व्यासगीतश्चात्रश्लोक प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्य [।*] स्वदत्ताम्पर-
30 दत्ताव्वा(त्ता वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धरा (राम्) [।*] गवान्शतसहस्रस्य[5]। हन्तुर्हरति दुष्क्रित[6]।
31 साव्वत्सरे त्रयोवीशे[7]।[8] माघबहुलपक्षे द्वादश्या[म्*] । आज्ञा
32 स्यय [स्वयम्] [।*] राज्याधिकृतन(तेन) चमिदासेन लिखितमिति ।

Seal

1 वाकाटकललामस्य
2 क्र(क)मप्राप्तप्तनि(नृ)पश्रियम्(य) [।*]
3 राज्ञ[*] प्रवरसेनस्य ।[8]
4 शासन रिपुशासनम् ॥[9]

TRANSLATION

Seen. From the place **Narattangavāri**—

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II),** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas,** who was born of **Prabhavatīguptā,** the daughter of the *Mahārājādhiraja,* the illustrious **Dēvagupta,** (*and*) who is the son of the illustrious **Rudrasēna (II),** the *Mahārāja,* of the **Vākātakas**—

(*For translation of lines* 1 *to* 10, *see above, pp* 13-14)

Our officials of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the *Sarvādhyaksha* (General Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (*Our*) command, (*Our*) soldiers and policemen in the western division (*aparapatta*) of (*the district*) **Bennākata** should be directed by the following command which is already well known (*to them*).—

"Be it known to you that in order to increase Our religious merit, life, power and prosperity and to secure (*Our*) well-being in this world and the next, the village named **Kōśambakhanda,** which lies to the west of **Jamalī,** to the north of **Vardhamānaka,** to the east of **Mrigasima,** and to the west of **Mallakapēdhaka,** is bestowed here with the pouring

[1]Read केनचिद्व्याघात
[2]Read परिबाधा कुर्य्यात्कारयेद्वा
[3]Read राजदत्तसचिन्तन-
[4]Read एष्यत्काल-
[5]Read गवा शतसहस्रस्य The following mark of punctuation is superfluous
[6]Read दुष्कृतम् Metre *Anushtubh*
[7]Read सवत्सरे त्रयोविंशे
[8]This mark of punctuation is superfluous
[9]Metre *Anushtubh.*

out of water as a grant not previously made, upon **Varuṇārya** of the Atharvavēda and the Harkari *gotra*, who has (*mastered*) the three Vēdas and is a resident of **Chāndrapura.**

(*For translation of lines* 19 *to* 26, *see above, pp* 14-15 *and for that of lines* 26 *to* 29, *see above, p.* 32)

(Line 29) And the following verse sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as an authority on this point —

(*Here occurs an imprecatory verse*)

(*This order was communicated*) by the king himself on the **twelfth** (*lunar day*) of the **dark fortnight** of (*the month*) **Māgha** in the **twenty-third** (*regnal*) **year.** (*It has been*) written by the *Rājyādhikṛita* **Chamidāsa.**

Seal

(*For translation of the legend on the seal, see above, p.* 27)

No 12. Plate XII

WAḌGAON PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

These plates were handed over to Dr S S Patwardhan, Curator of the Central Museum, Nagpur, by one Bhagwan Shiva Ganar of Yēnur, a village in the Hinganghāt *tahsil* of the Wardhā District, in Vidarbha They were in the possession of his grandfather at **Wadgaon** in the Warōrā tahsil of the Chāndā District They were published by me with facsimiles in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXVII, pp 74 f They are edited here from the same facsimiles The plates are now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The **copper-plates** are four in number, of which the first and the last are inscribed on the inner side only, and the other two on both the sides They measure 6 5″ long and 3 5″ broad, and weigh 97 *tolas* They were held together by a ring, about 3 *tōlās* in weight, passing through a roundish hole, 1 3″ from the middle of the left side of each plate It must have originally carried the usual Vākāṭaka seal sliding on it, but it is not forthcoming now There are forty-two lines of writing in all, which are evenly distributed on the six inscribed faces of the four plates The writing is in a good state of preservation throughout In a few cases the engraver has corrected his mistakes of omission and commission, see *amsa-bhāra-*, line 4, *saty-ārjjava*, line 9 etc , but there are many more which are left uncorrected In the right-hand lower corner of the first side of the second plate, he has incised the syllables *Mārade(dā)sē*, which were inadvertently omitted in line 42[1] In line 21 several letters were beaten in and in their place the expression *vishuva-vāchanaka-* was incised This correction or tampering, whatever it might be, was apparently done in the Vākāṭaka age, for the substituted *aksharas* are of the same type as the rest of the record

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabet resembling those of the other inscriptions of Pravarasēna II The noteworthy peculiarities are the cursive form of the medial *ū* in *sūnōh*, line 4; the bipartite *au* in *dauhitrasya*, line 7, the medial *ṛi*, which is formed not by the usual curling curve, but by the addition of a curve turned downwards on the left of *k* in *-adhikṛitā*, line 23, and the rare medial *ḷi* in *kḷipt-lopakḷiptah*, line 31 The **numerical symbols** for 400 occur in line 20, and those for 2 and 3 on the second side of the second and the third plate respectively The **language** is Sanskrit, and, except for two benedictive and imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose The **orthography** shows the usual reduplication of a consonant after *r* and before *y*, see *ārjjava-*, line 9 and *Bhāgīratthy-*, line 6

The inscription is one of the **Vākāṭaka** *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna II.** It opens with *dṛishtam* The genealogy of the king is given here exactly as in his other plates, his maternal grandfather being called **Dēvagupta.** The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of 400 *nivartanas* of land by the royal measure, which **Pravarasēna II** made to a Brāhmana named **Rudrārya,** who was versed in two Vēdas and belonged to the Vāji-Lōhitya *gōtra*[2] He was a resident of the village **Ēkārjunaka.** The land donated to him was in the village **Vēlusuka** which was situated in the **Supratishtha** *āhāra* or subdivision The village lay to the east of **Gṛidhragrāma,** to the south of **Kadambasaraka,** to the west of **Nīlīgrāma** and to the north of **Kōkilāra.** The plates were issued from the royal camp on the bank of

[1] For another instance of a correction inserted in a wrong place, see above, p 39, n. 1

[2] A similar *gotra*, with *Vāji* prefixed to it, is *Vāji-Kauśika* mentioned in the Indore plates, line 15. In both these cases the donees may have belonged to the Vājasanēya *śākhā* of the Yajurvēda

the river **Hiranyā** on the **tenth tithi** of the **bright fortnight** of **Jyēshṭha** in the **twenty-fifth** year[1], evidently of the reign of Pravarasēna II The *Sēnāpati* at the time was **Bāppadēva.** He is mentioned also in the Siwanī plates of Pravarasēna II The scribe was **Māradāsa.**

The **donee** Rudrārya is styled *vishuva-vāchanaka* (reciter at a *vishuva*) which suggests that the grant was made on the occasion of a *vishuva* or equinox The *vishuva* immediately preceding the date of the grant was that of the Mesha-sankrānti falling in Chaitra The grant was evidently made to the Brāhmana for reciting certain sacred texts on the occasion of the *vishuva* or Mesha-sankrānti

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, the **Supratishtha āhāra** in which the village **Vēlusuka** was situated is mentioned in two other grants, viz , the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīguptā and the Jāmb plates of Pravarasēna II It seems to have comprised parts of the Hinganghat, Warorā and Yeotmāl *tahsils* of the Wardhā, Chāndā and Yeotmāl Districts respectively The village Vēlusuka in which the donated land was situated cannot now be traced, but it seems to have occupied the same position as modern Chinchmandal which lies just on the south of the elbow of the Wunnā, for all the boundary villages mentioned in the present charter can be traced in the vicinity of it in the respective directions. Thus **Gridhragrāma** is Gadeghāt, about 8 miles to the west, and **Nīlīgrāma** is Niljai, about 5 miles to the east of Chinchmandal. **Kadambasaraka** is Kosara, about 2 miles to the north **Kōkilāra** is modern Khairī which lies about 4 miles to the north-west All the boundary villages can thus be satisfactorily identified in the vicinity of Chinchmandal It is again noteworthy that Chinchmandal lies only about 5 miles to the south of Wadgaon where the plates were found The river **Hiranyā** is the modern Ērai, which flows from north to south in the Warorā tahsil and ultimately joins the Wardhā **Ēkārjunaka** where the donee resided is probably Arjuni on the left bank of the Ērai, about 16 miles north-east of Warōrā, the chief town of the Warōrā *tahsil*.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[3] दृष्ट (ष्टम्) [। *] हिरण्यानदि (दी) वासकादग्निष्टोम (मा) प्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्या-(श्य) ति-
2 रात्रवाजपेयबृहप्स (स्प) तिसवसद्य स्क[4][च *]तुरश्वमेधयाजिन
3 विष्ण (ष्णु) वृ[द्ध] सगोत्रस्य सम्राट्[5] वाकाटकाना महाराजश्रि (श्री) प्रवरसेन-
4 स्य सूनो सूनोरत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य अस [भा][6]-
5 रसन्निव (वे) शितशिवलि[ङ्गो]दहनशिवसुपर (रि) तुष्टसमुत्पादित[रा]-
6 जवशाना (ना) पराक्रम (मा) धिगतभागि (गी) रथ्यमलजलमु (मू) र्द्ध (र्द्धा) भिषिक्ताना दशा-
7 श्वमेधा[व *]भृथस्नाताना भारशिवाना महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य

Second Plate First Side

8 गौतमीपुत्रस्य वाक (का) टकाना (ना) महाराजश्रि (श्री) रुद्रसेनस्य सूनोरत्य-

[1] Lines 20-21 of the present plates state that the grant was made in the twentieth year, but this is probably a mistake Perhaps *pañcha* was omitted before *viśatima* in line 20 What looks like the syllable *ñcha* at the end of the last line may have been part of *pañcha* inserted in the wrong place It is unlikely that the grant remained unregistered for five years

[2] From the facsimiles facing pages 76 and 77, *Ep Ind*, Vol XXVII.

[3] Expressed by a symbol

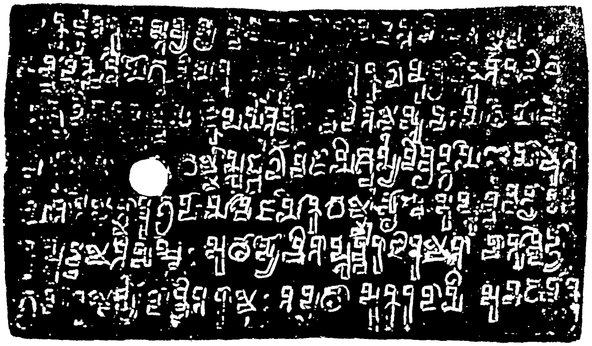
[4] Read साद्यस्क-

[5] Read सम्राज

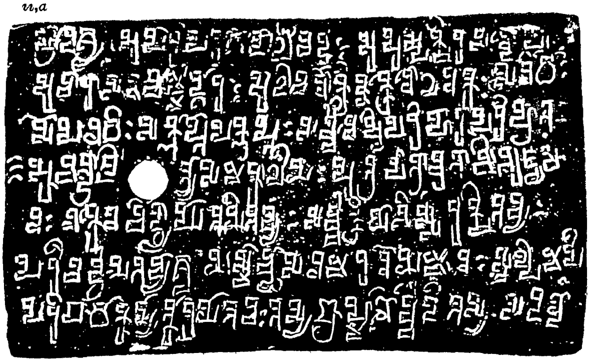
[6] The engraver at first incised स, which he after changed into भा

WADGAON PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

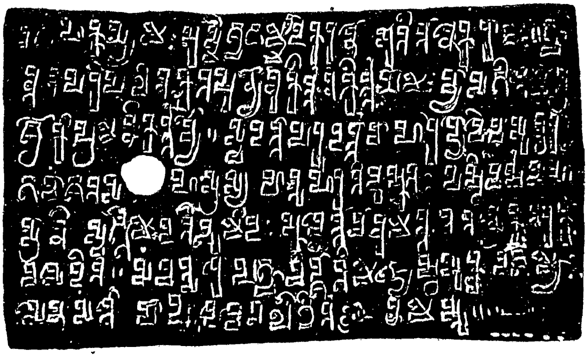
i



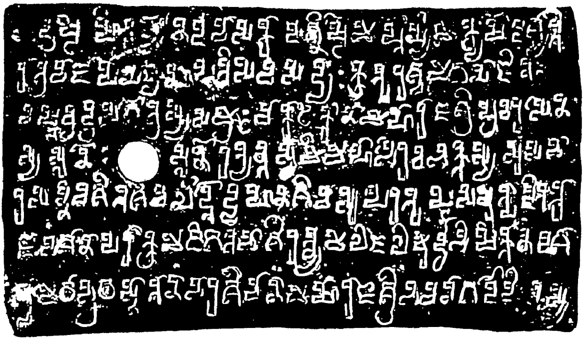
ii,a



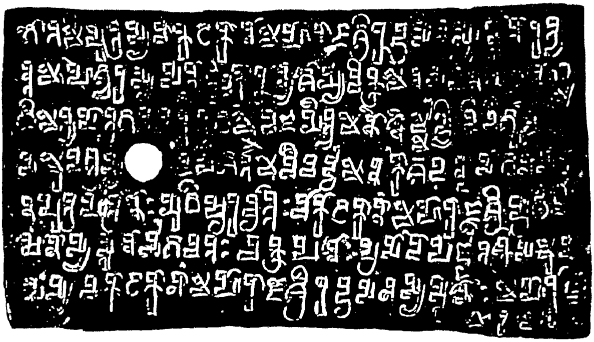
ii,b



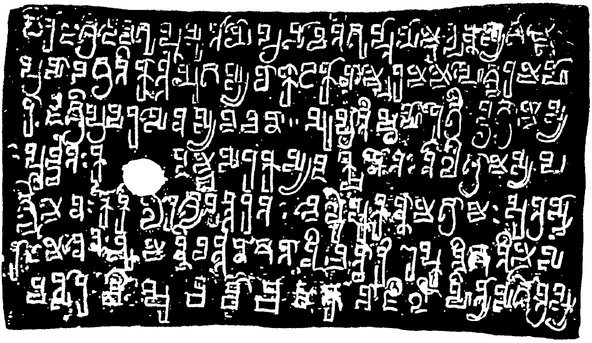
iii,a



iii,b



iv



9 न्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्यार्ज्जव[1]कारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्कमनयविनयम (मा) हात्म्य-
10 धीमत्य (त्व) पात्रगतभक्तित्वधम्म (र्म्म) विजयी (यि) त्वमनोनैर्म्मल्यादिभीगु (भिर्गु) णै
11 समुप (पे) तस्य वष (र्ष) शतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डा (ण्ड) साधनसन्ता-
12 नपुत्रपौत्र (त्रि) ण युधीष्ठ (धिष्ठि) रवृत्ते वाकाटकाना महाराजश्रि (श्री) पृथि[2]वी-
13 षेणस्य सूनोर्भगवत चक्रप (पा) णे प्रसादोप (पा) र्ज्जितश्रि[3] (श्री) समुद-
14 यस्य व (वा) काटकाना महाराजश्रीर (रु) द्रस (से) नस्य सूनो महाराजा-[4]

Second Plate. Second Side

15 धिराजा (ज) श्रि (श्री) देवगुप्तसुतायो (या) प्रभावतीगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य शा (श) म्भो[ः]
16 प्रसादधृति (त) कार्त्तयुगस्य वाकाटकानाम्परमाहे (हे) श्वरमहा-
17 राज (ज) श्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचना[त्*] ।। सुप्रतिष्ठ (ष्ठा) हारे ग्रिदृग्रामस्य[5]
18 [6]पूर्व्वत कदम्बसरकस्य [द]क्ष (क्षि) णत नीलीग्रामस्य प-
19 श्चिमेन (मत) कोकिलारश्य (स्य) उत्तरत वेलुसुकन्नाम ग्राम अत्रस्मा[7]
20 राजमानेन[8] भूम (मे) न्नि (न्नि) वर्त्तनशतानी (नि) चत्वारि ४०० वीशतीम[9] स-
21 वत्सरे विषुववाचनक[10]वाजी (जि) लोहित्या (त्य) सगोत्रस्य

Third Plate First Side

22 एकार्जुनकव (वा) स्तव्यस्य[11] द्विवेदरुद्राय्या (र्य्या) य दत्तानि [।*] यतोस्मत्सन्तका
23 सर्व्वाद्धिच (द्ध्य) क्ष[नि]योगनियुक्ता आज्ञासञ्चार (रि) कुलपुत्राधिकृता भजा (टा) श्छ (श्छा)
24 त्र (त्रा) श्च विश्रुतपूर्व्वय[12] ज्ञापयितव्या [।*] विदितमस्तु व यथेहास्मा-
25 भिरात्मनो धर्म्मायु (यु) र्ब्बलविजयि (यै) श्वर्य्य [वि] वृद्धये इहामुत्र-
26 ही (हि) तार्त्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजयिके धर्म्मस्थाने अपूर्व्वदत्या (त्या) [उ]द-
27 कपूर्व्वमती (ति) सृष्ट[13] [।*] अथास्योचिता (ता) पूर्व्वराजानुमता (ता) चातुर्व्वै (र्व्वै) द्या-
28 ग्रहारमर्य्यादान्वितराम[14] [।*] तद्यथा अकरदायी अभटच्छात्र-

Third Plate Second Side

29 प्रावेश्य अपारपरगोबलीवर्द्द अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोह
30 अचारासनचर्म्माङ्गार अलवणक्ली (क्लि) न्नक्रे [ण] (णि) खनक सनि[धि]
31 सोपन (नि) धि सक्लृप्तोपक्लृप्त सर्व्ववे (वि) ष्टिपरिहारपरिहृत
32 [15]आचन्द्रादित्या (त्य) कालीय पुत्रपौत्रा [नु][ता] (गा) मि (मी) भुज्यमा-

---

[1] This *akshara*, which was omitted at first, has been written in a small form

[2] The medial *i* of this *akshara* has been subsequently shortened

[3] The engraver at first incised *kri* and subsequently changed it into *śri*

[4] Just below this word, the *aksharas Maiade(dā)s[ē]* have been incised, but their proper place seems to be after *Bāppadēvē*, line 42

[5] Read गृध्रग्रामस्य

[6] Just before this word there is the numerical symbol for 2 denoting the number of the plate.

[7] Read एतस्मात्

[8] This *visarga* is redundant.

[9] Read विंशतितमे This is probably a mistake for पञ्चविंशतितमे See the regnal year mentioned in line 41.

[10] These seven *aksharas* are of a large size and have been incised over others which were carefully beaten in

[11] Read सगोत्राय and वास्तव्याय so as to make them agree with रुद्रार्य्याय

[12] Read विश्रुतपूर्व्वयाज्ञया

[13] This should qualify a word like ग्राम , but the drafter of the record forgot that the object of the grant was four hundred *nivartanas* of land, not the whole village

[14] Read मर्यादा वितराम

[15] Just before this word there is the symbol for 3, denoting the number of the plate.

33 न न केनचिद्व्याघातयितव्य सर्व्वक्रियाभिस्सरक्षितव्य
34 परी(रि)वर्द्धय(यि)तव्या(व्य)श्च [।*] यस्माच्छासनमरणयमान[1] स्वल्पामपी(पि)
35 परिबाधा(धा) कुर्य्यात्कारयात व[2] तस्य ब्राम्हणैर्व्वेदी(दि)तस्य सदण्डा(ण्ड)

Fourth Plate

36 निग्रह(ह) कुय्यम (कुर्य्यामि) [।*] अस्मि(स्मि)श्च धर्माद [र*] करणे अतीतानेकराज [दत्त*]-सञ्चि-
37 न्तनपरिप(पा)लन(न) कृतपुण्यनुकीर्त्तन[3] कीर्तयाम [।*] व्यासगीतो(तौ) चात्र
38 श्रोको(श्लोकौ) प्रमासिकर्त्तव्यौ[4]। स्वदत्ता(त्ता) परदत्ता वा हरेद्यो व वसुन्धराम् [।*]
39 गवा शतसहस्रस्य हतु[5]र्हरति दुष्कृत(तम्)[6]।। [१।।*] षष्टि वर्षसह-
40 स्रानि(णि) स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिद [।*]आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्त(न्ता)च त(ता)न्येक(व)नरका(के)
41 वसेदिति(वसेत् ।।२।। इति) ।। सवत्सरे पञ्चवीडशातीम[7] ज्येष्ठसुक्लदशोम्या[8]
42 सेन(ना)स(प)तौ बा[प्प][9]देवे न[10] लीखीत[11] [ञ्च][12] मस्तु[13]।।

TRANSLATION

Success! Seen From the camp on the river **Hiraṇyā**—

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākāṭakas** and a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the *Kṛita-yuga* (Golden Age) (*on the earth*), who was born of **Prabhāvatīguptā**, the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta**, (*and*) who is the son of the illustrious **Rudrasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākāṭakas**—

(*For translation of lines* 1-14, *see above*, *pp* 13-14)

(*There is*) a village named **Vēlusuka** in the *āhāra* of **Supratishṭha**, which lies to the east of **Gridhragrāma**, to the south of **Kadambasaraka**, to the west of **Nīlīgrāma** and to the north of **Kōkilāra**. From this (*village*) four hundred *nivartanas*—(*in figures*) 400—of land by the royal measure have been donated to **Rudrārya** of the Vāji-Lohitya *gōtra*, who resides at **Ēkārjunaka** and who has recited (*the Vedic mantras*) on the occasion of the Equinox (*Vishuva*).

(*For translation of lines* 22-37, *see above*, *pp* 14-15 and *p.* 32)

The (*following*) two verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authoritative on this point —

(*Here follow two benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(Line 41). (*This charter has been*) written by **Māradāsa**, while **Bāppadēva** is the *Sēnāpati*, on the **tenth** (*lunar day*) of the **bright** (*fortnight*) or **Jyēshṭha** in the **twenty-fifth** (*regnal*) **year.** May there be happiness!

---

[1]Read योस्मच्छासनमगणयमान

[2]Read कारयेद्वा

[3]Read कृतपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहाराय न

[4]Read प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्यौ

[5]The superscript न् of this *akshara* has been wrongly cancelled Read हन्तु

[6]Metre of this and the next verse—*Anushtubh*

[7]Read पञ्चविंशतितमे

[8]Read शुक्लदशम्याम्

[9]The superscript letter of this conjunct which was *h* has been corrected into *p*.

[10]Read मारदासेन. The *aksharas* मारदासे which were inadvertently omitted here were afterwards wrongly incised in the lower right corner below line 14 on the first side of the second plate.

[11]Read लिखितम् There is an ornamental figure after this word

[12]This is possibly a part of the word पञ्च- omitted before वीशतीम in line 20 above.

[13]Read सिद्धमस्तु or शुभमस्तु.

No 13· Plate XIII

PAṬṬAN PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates were discovered at **Paṭṭan,** a village in the Multāi *tahsil* of the Bētul District in Madhya Pradesh They were turned up in a field by the plough of a farmer in 1935 They were later acquired for the Central Museum, Nāgpur, where they are now deposited I edited them with facsimiles in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol XXIII, pp. 81 f. They are edited here from the same facsimiles

The **copper-plates** are five in number, of which the first and the last are inscribed on one side only and the remaining three on both the sides Each plate measures 6·9″ by 4″ and is about 1″ in thickness The ends of the plates are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims for the protection of the writing About 1 9″ from the proper right side of each plate there is a hole, $\frac{1}{2}$″ in diameter, for the ring which originally connected the plates When the plates reached the Nāgpur Museum, the ring had been straightened and its **seal,** which is a round disc, separated from it The usual band to which the seal must have been rivetted is not forthcoming now The weight of the plates is 134 *tōlās* and that of the seal, $8\frac{1}{2}$ *tōlās.* The plates are not now in a good state of preservation Their surface, which originally was not made quite smooth, has been further damaged by rust Many letters in the right half of line 45 and most of those in the two following lines have been almost obliterated by friction, but can be read, though with some difficulty, from the traces left on the plate Each inscribed surface contains six lines, except the first side of the third plate which has only five lines inscribed on it The seal contains the usual Vākātaka legend in verse, inscribed in four lines.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows.—The medial *ī* (long) is generally denoted by a ringlet in the curve which represents its short form, but in one case (viz., *Bhāgīratthy-,* line 7) by a curve turned in the opposite direction, and in another by a dot in the circle (cf. *Śrī-Pravarasēnasya,* line 19); the medial *ō* is cursive in *Lohaṇagarā-,* line 20; the medial *au* is bipartite everywhere; the subscript *j* and *b* have no notch on the left as in *-ārjjava-,* line 10 and *-āyur-bbala,* line 27, a final consonant is indicated by its small form and in some cases by a short horizontal stroke at the top, cf *Pravarapurāt,* line 1, and *dattam,* line 23; the *upadhmānīya* occurs in lines 15, 18, and 35 of the inscription and in line 3 of the legend on the seal Punctuation is indicated by two or three vertical and somewhat curved lines followed by a dash.

The **language** is Sanskrit Except for the legend on the seal and the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose It abounds in mistakes of orthography, *sandhi,* syntax, declension, conjugation, verbal and nominal derivatives etc , most of which must be attributed to the ignorance or carelessness of the writer. As regards mistakes of **orthography,** we may note the use of the short for the long vowel as in *sunoh,* line 4, of *ri* for the vowel *ṛi* and of *li* for the vowel *ḷi* as in *Prithvi-* line 14 and *klipt-ōpakliptaḥ* in line 33, in many cases the rules of *sandhi* have been violated, cf *gunai samupētasya,* line 12, For mistakes of declension, see such forms as *pūrvvāyā,* line 25, and for those of declension see *kārayīta,* line 36, and *kuryyāmah,* line 37. As an instance of wrong verbal derivatives, see *kārāvaka,* lines 46-47 and for that of nominal derivatives, notice

rājakya (for *rājakīya*), line 22 The writer has violated an elementary rule of concord in in *sutāyāh Prabhāvatīguptāyām*, line 17 and of compounding in *mūrdhn-ābhishiktānān-*, line 7. As regards orthographical peculiarities sanctioned by Sanskrit grammar, we may notice that consonant preceding *r* and *y* is doubled in *parākkrama-*, line 6, and *sarvvāddhyaksha*, line 24, and that following *r* is similarly reduplicated in *varddhamāna-*, line 13

The inscription, which opens with *dṛishtam*, is one of the **Vākāṭaka** *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna II.** His genealogy is given here as in his other plates, his maternal grandfather being called **Dēvagupta.** The **object** of the present plates, which were issued from **Pravarapura**[1], is to record the grant of 400 *nivartanas* of land, by the royal measure[2], in the **Aśvatthakhēṭaka** for the maintenance of a *sattra* or charitable feeding house in honour of the foot-prints of Mahāpurusha (Vishnu)[3] The village was situated in the *mārga* of **Varadākhēṭa** included in the division (*bhōga*) of **Lōhanagara.** The gift was made at the request of **Narāyaṇarāja.** The charter was written on the **seventh day** of the **dark fortnight** of **Kārttika** in the **twenty-seventh** (regnal) **year.** The scribe was **Kālidāsa** who was serving under the *Senāpati* **Kātyāyana.** The record was engraved by the goldsmith **Īśvaradatta,** who was a servant of **Kaundarāja.** It is stated at the end that **Pitāmaha** and **Nanda** caused the charter to be drafted

The present plates furnish the last but one date so far known of Pravarasēna II's reign The mention of Pravarapura as the place of issue shows that the city continued to be the royal capital to the end of his reign Kaundarāja whose servant Īśvaradatta incised the present charter is evidently identical with Kondarāja, the son of Śatrughnarāja, at whose request the grant recorded in the Chammak plates was made[4]

The mention of **Kālidāsa** in the present grant raises the interesting question of his identity with the illustrious Sanskrit poet of that name The latter is generally placed in the Gupta period, but the earliest epigraphical mention of his name occurs in the Aihole *praśasti* of Pulakēśin II, dated Śaka 556 (634 A C)[5] This is the first time that the name Kālidāsa has been discovered in a record of the Gupta period

Kālidāsa, no doubt, figures only as a scribe in the present grant, but that does not *per se* disprove his identity with the great Sanskrit poet Such charters were generally drafted and written on copper-plates by clerks working in the office of the *Sāndhivigrahika* or Minister for peace and war, but sometimes we find even great officers mentioned as writers of such documents Thus the writer of the Tirōdī plates of Pravarasēna II was the Chief Minister (*Rājyādhikrita*) himself[6] Again, according to a tradition recorded by Rāmadāsa, a commentator of the *Setubandha*, Kālidāsa composed the Prakrit *kāvya* for Pravarasēna by the order of Vikramāditya[7] This he must have done during his sojourn in Vidarbha The idea of writing the *Mēghadūta* seems to have suggested itself to the poet's mind at Rāmtek near Nāgpur (Rāmagiri of the *Mēghadūta*), which we know was a holy place visited by the

---

[1]Since the grant was made at the capital, the expression *vaijayike dharma-sthānē* occurs in it as it does in other Vākātaka grants made at the capital

[2]The same expression occurs in the Wadgaon plates (No 12) See also *Rajamānika* in No. 6, line 18. There may have been local measures called *vishaya-mana* Cf Sankhēdā plates of Dadda II (*C. I. I*, Vol IV, p 77)

[3]For a similar grant of a slightly later period, see the Podāgadh inscription, *Ep Ind* Vol. XXI, p. 156 For Mahāpurusha or Mahāpurusha meaning Vishnu, see the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, II, 1, 10, V, 15, 4 and 6, 17, 16-17, VIII, 6, 32, etc

[4]See No 6, line 19

[5]*Ep Ind*, Vol. VI, pp 1 f

[6]No 11, line 32

[7]Nirnayasagar Press ed , p 3, see also the colophon of the last canto

Vākātakas[1] It is not unlikely that while in Vidarbha, Kālidāsa was attached to the office of the *Sēnāpati* as stated in the present record He may therefore be identified with the writer of this grant

But a close examination of the present record shows that this view is untenable The scribe of the present plates had a very imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit As pointed out above, there are numerous orthographical and grammatical mistakes, for most of which the writer, not the engraver, must have been responsible On the other hand, Kālidāsa had a great command over the Sanskrit language He has emphasised the importance of correct speech in one of his similes[2], and his works contain fewer instances of solecisms than those of his predecessors and successors It is incredible that such a great poet as Kālidāsa would commit so many mistakes of orthography, *sandhi*, syntax, nominal and verbal forms, etc , which disfigure the present record Disappointing as it is, one has to admit that the scribe was only a namesake and a contemporary of, but not identical with, the prince of Sanskrit poets We may note here that similar names ending in *dāsa* were current in Vidarbha in the age of the Vākātakas Thus we know of Namidāsa, a *Sēnāpati,* Chamidāsa, the Chief Minister, as well as the writers Chakradāsa, Gōladāsa and Māradāsa

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Varadākhēta** is probably Warūd in the Mōrsī tahsil of the Amarāvatī District, about 12 miles south of Pattan **Lohanagara,** the headquarters of an ancient division, may be represented by Lonī, about 9 miles south-west of Warūd The name of the village **Aśvatthakhēṭaka,** in which the donated land was situated, can no longer be traced, its site seems to be occupied by the modern village Paṭṭan Tradition says that the ancient village, the site of which is now included in Pattan, was turned upside down and buried underground by the curse of a Muslim saint Sulaiman Shah[3] Even now when excavations are made, large-size bricks, beads of onyx and old coins are found there, which also shows that the modern village is occupying an old site It may, again, be noted that Pattan lies on the way from Multāi to Warūd (ancient Varadākhēta), and may, therefore, have been included in the *mārga* (territorial division) of **Varadākhēṭa.**

ORIENTAL RESEARCH INST. TIRUPATI No 2554 Date 8-12-26 S. V. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

TEXT[4]

First Plate

1 दृप्ट (प्टम्) [।*] स्वस्ति ।। प्रवरपुरात् अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्यषो-
2 डश्यतिरात्रवाजपेयबृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्कचतुरश्व-
3 मेधयाजिन विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्राट्[5] वाकाटका-
4 नाम्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सु(सू)नो सु(सू)नोरत्यन्त्य(न्त)स्वामिम-
5 हाभैरवभक्तस्य अन्स[6]भारसन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्वहनशि-
6 वसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवङशाना[7]म्पराक्क्रमाधिगतभा-

Second Plate First Side

7 गीरत्थ्या(त्थ्य)मलजलमूध्नी(र्धा)भिषिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नाता-

[1] No 8, line 1
[2] *Kumārasambhava*, canto I, v 27.
[3] *Bētul District Gazetteer*, p. 256
[4] From the facsimiles facing pages 86-88 in *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIII
[5] Read सम्राज
[6] Read अस-
[7] Read वशाना-

8 नाम्भारशी (शि) वा[1]नाम्महाराजश्रीभवनाग [दौ] हित्रस्य गौतमीपु-
9 त्रपुत्रस्य[2] वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सु (सू) नोर-
10 त्यन्त्य (न्त) माहेश्वरस्य सत्यार्ज्जवकारुन्य (ण्य) शौर्य्यविक्क्रमन-
11 यविनयमाहात्म्यधीमत्व (त्त्व) पात्रगतभ [क्तित्व]पात्रगतभ-
12 क्तित्व[3]धर्म्मविजयित्वमनोनैर्म्मल्यादिगुणै [*] समुपेतस्य

Second Plate · Second Side

13 वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौ-
14 तृ (त्रि) ण युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्व्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रिथिविसे-
15 नस्य[4] सु (सू) नोर्भगवतश्चक्क्रपाणेःप्रसादोपार्ज्जितश्रीसमु-
16 दयस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्री[रु]द्रसेनस्य सु (सू) नो-
17 र्म्म (र्म्म) हाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुताया [5] प्रभाव[ति]गुप्ता-
18 यामुत्पन्नस्य शम्भोःप्रसादधृति[6]कार्त्तयुगस्य वाकाटकाना

Third Plate · First Side

19 म्परममाहेश्वरमहाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचना [त् *] ॥
20 लोहणगराभागे[7] वरदाखेटमार्ग्गे अश्वस्थ (त्थ) खेटके
21 सब्राम्हणपुरोगो ग्रामो वक्तव्य [।*] अत्र ग्रामे रा-
22 जक्यमानेन[8] भूमेर्न्निवर्तनशतानि[9] चत्वारि महापुरुषपा-
23 दमूलसत्रोपयोज्य[10] नारायणराजविज्ञाप्येन दत्तम् [।*]

Third Plate · Second Side

24 यतोस्मत्सन्तकास्सर्व्वाद्ध्यक्षनियोगनियुक्ता आज्ञासञ्चा-
25 रिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भटा[श्छा]त्राश्च विश्रुतपूर्व्वा (र्व्व) याज्ञया-
26 ज्ञापयितव्या [।*] विदितमस्तु व (वो) यथे (थै) षा[11]स्माभिरात्म-
27 नो धर्म्मायुर्ब्बलविजयैश्वर्य्यविवृद्धये इहामुत्रहिता-
28 र्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजयिके धर्म्मस्थाने अपूर्व्वदत्या (त्त्या) उदक-
29 पूर्व्वम्प्रतिसृष्ट [।*] अथास्योचिताम्पूर्व्वरा[जा]नु[मता] चातु-

Fourth Plate · First Side

30 र्व्यै (र्व्वै) द्याग्रा (ग्र) हारमर्य्यादान्वितराम [12] [।*] तद्यथा अकरदायी अभट-
31 च्छ (च्छा) त्रप्रावेश्य अपारपरगोबलिवर्द्द अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोह[*] अ-

---

[1] The box at the top of वा is not completely incised

[2] All other Vākātaka grants discovered so far read गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य, thus making the construction ambiguous The reading in the present plates shows that the adjectival expressions from अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य onwards qualify रुद्रसेनस्य

[3] This expression is unnecessarily repeated

[4] Read पृथिवीषेणस्य

[5] Read सुताया

[6] Read धृत-

[7] Read लोह्नगरभोगे

[8] Read राजकीयमानेन

[9] The engraver has cancelled a redundant stroke on the left of ता

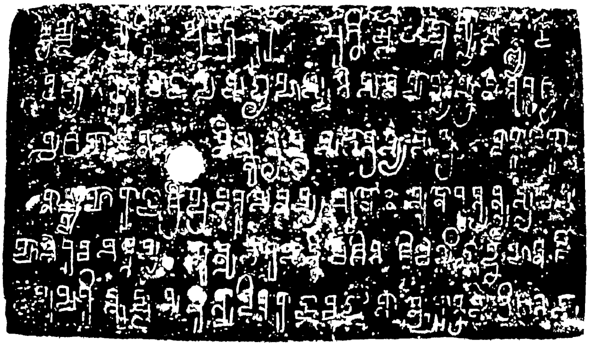
[10] Read प्रयोज्यानि and -विज्ञप्त्या दत्तानि

[11] The construction is faulty here We should have either एषा [भूमि *] प्रतिसृष्टा or एषो[ग्रहार *] प्रतिसृष्ट

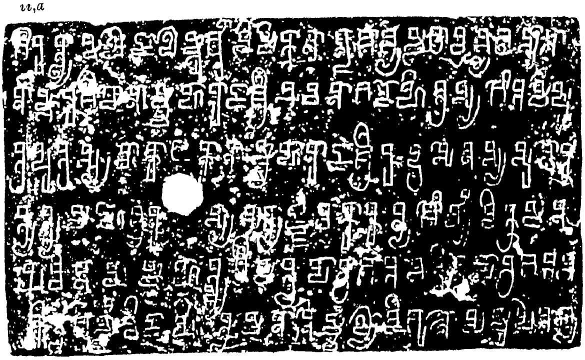
[12] Read मर्य्यादा वितराम The writer has forgotten that the present grant was made to a temple and not to Brāhmanas versed in the four Vēdas Notice ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य in lines 36-37 below. Some of the prohibitions and exemptions laid down here are appropriate only in the case of a gift of a whole village.

PATTAN PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

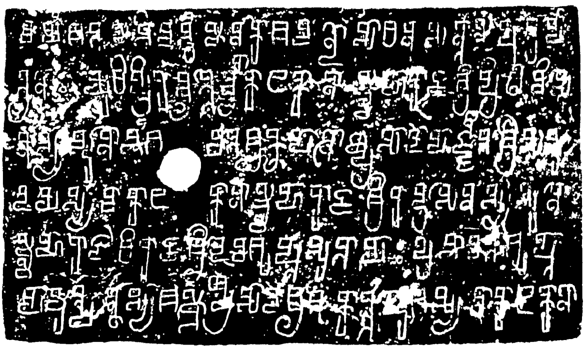
i



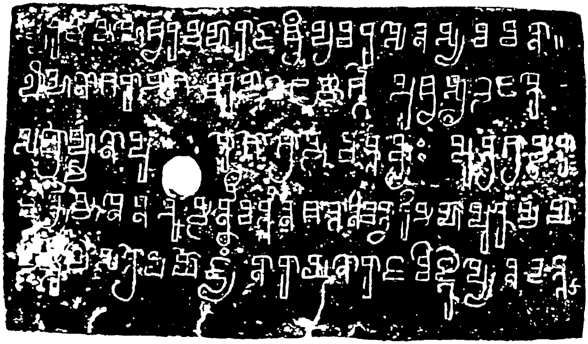
ii,a



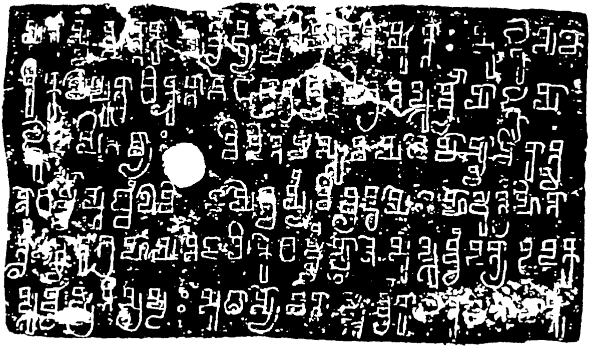
ii,b



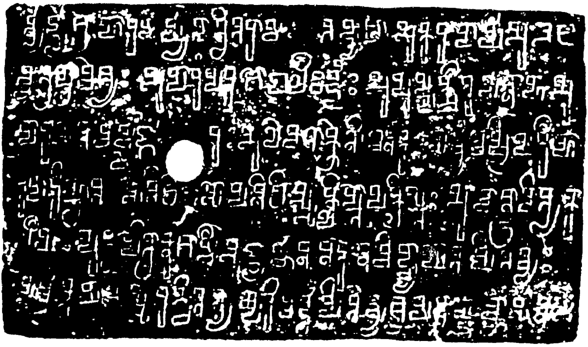
iii,a



iii,b



iv,a



32 पा(चा)रासनचर्म्माङ्गार अलवणक्क्रेणिखनक सर्व्ववे(वि)ष्टिपरीहा-
33 रपरिहृत[*] सनिधि सोपनिधिस्सक्लि(क्लृ)प्तोपक्लि(क्लृ)प्त आचन्द्रादित्यका-
34 लीय पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी भुज्यमान(नो) न केनचिद्व्याघातयितव्य
35 सर्व्वक्र(क्रि)याभिस्स(स्स)रक्षितव्यःपरिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च [।*] य[श्चा]स्मच्छासनम-

Fourth Plate Second Side

36 गणयमान[*] स्वल्पामपि परिबाधा कुर्य्यात्कारयीत वा[1] तस्य ब्राह्म-
37 णैर्व्वैदितस्य सदण्डनिग्रह कुर्य्याम (म) [।*] अस्मिश्च[2] धर्म्मादरक-
38 [र*]णे अतीतानेकराजदत्ता(त्त)सञ्चिन्तनपरिपालन(न) कृतपुन्या(ण्या)-
39 नुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्थन्न[3] कीर्त्तयाम [।*] व्यासगीतौ चात्र श्लोकौ
40 प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्यौ [।*] स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ता व्वा(वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् [।*]
41 गवा शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृत[म्][4]।। [१।।*]

Fifth Plate

42 षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिद[।*] आच्छेत्ता
43 चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ।।[२।।*] सात्वत्सरे सप्ताविङशे[5]
44 कार्त्तिकबहुलपक्षसप्तम्याम् सेनापतिकात्यायन-
45 सन्तकेन लिखित(त) कालिदासेन[6] [।*][7] [कौण्डराजसन्तकेन सुव]र्ण्ण-
46 कार[8] ईश्वरदत्तेन खात(तम्) ।। अस्य शासनस्य कारा-
47 वकौ पितामहनन्दौ ।।

Seal

1 वाकाटकल्ल(ल)ल(ला)मस्य
2 क्क्रमप्राप्तनृपश्रिय [।*]
3 राज्ञःप्रवरसेनस्य
4 शासन रिपुशासनम्[9] ।।

TRANSLATION

Seen Hail! From **Pravarapura**—

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, and a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the *Kṛtayuga* (Golden Age) (*on the earth*), who was born of **Prabhāvatīguptā**, the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta**, (*and*) who is the son of the illustrious **Rudrasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**—

(*For translation of lines* 1-16, *see above, pp* 13-14)

(The residents of) the village led by the Brāhmanas in **Aśvatthakhētaka** in the *mārga* of **Varadākhēta** (*included*) in the *bhōga* of **Lōhanagara**, should be addressed as follows:—

---

1 Read कारयेद्वा
2 Read अस्मिश्च
3 The *anusvāra* is superfluous
4 Metre of this and the next verse *Anushtubh*
5 Read सवत्सरे सप्तविंशे
6 What looks like a dot in the middle of the circle denoting medial *i* is probably due to a fault in the copper
7 The letters in the brackets can be read with certainty on the original plate.
8 Read सुवर्ण्णकारेण
9 Metre *Anushtubh*

In this village We have donated, at the request of **Nārāyaṇarāja,** four hundred *nivartanas* of land by the royal measure, to be utilised for the charitable feeding house (*attached to the temple of*) Mahāpurusha (Vishnu)

(*For translation of lines* 24-39, *see above, pp* 14-15 *and p* 32)

(Line 39). And the following two verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authoritative on this point —

(*Here occur two benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

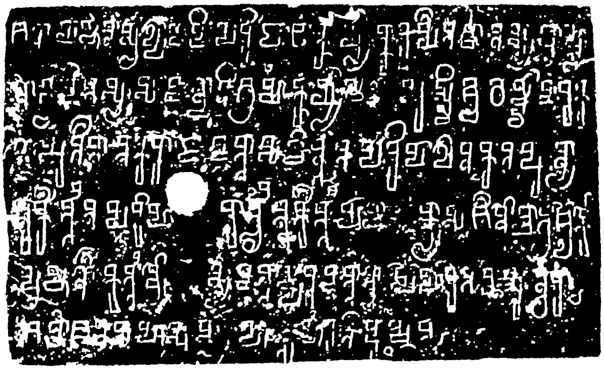
(Line 43) (*This charter has been*) written by **Kālidāsa,** a servant of the *Sēnāpati* **Kātyāyana** on the **seventh** (*lunar day*) in the **dark fortnight** of kārttika in the **twenty-seventh** (*regnal*) year. (*It has been*) engraved by the goldsmith **Īśvaradatta,** a servant of **Kauṇḍarāja.** The executors of this (*royal*) charter are **Pitāmaha** and **Nanda.**

Seal

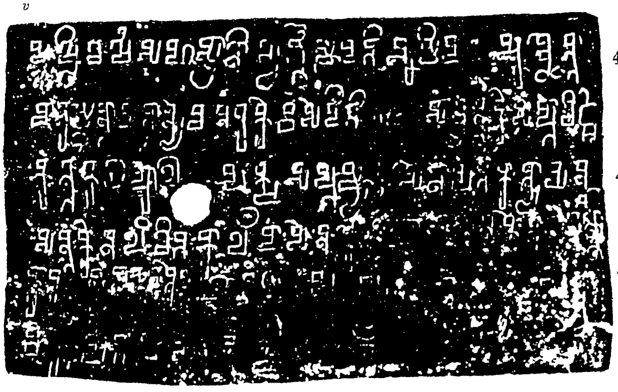
(*For translation of the legend on the seal, see above, p* 27)

PATTAN PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

iv b



v



Seal

No. 14. Plate XIV

PĀṆDHURṆĀ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates are said to have been found in 1942 when the old house of one Kadu Patil was being demolished at Tīgaon, a village six miles North by West from **Pāṇḍhurṇā** on the Itārsi-Nāgpur line of the Central Railway, in the Chhindwārā District of Madhya Pradesh. Later, they reached the hands of Mr. M. G. Karnik, I.A.S., while he was Deputy Commissioner at Chhindwārā. They were brought to my notice in October 1957 by Mr. V. P. Rode, who had seen and deciphered them partially at Mr. Karnik's residence. At my request Mr. Karnik very kindly allowed Mr. Krishna Dev, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, to take their estampages, from which I first deciphered the record. Later, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist, kindly supplied me with a set of ink impressions which are reproduced here. I have received some help in the decipherment and interpretation of this grant from Mr. N. L. Rao. I am grateful to all these friends who have helped me in one way or another. I edit the record here from the impressions received from Mr. Krishna Deva and Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

The **copper-plates** are **five** in number, each measuring 7.5″ by 3.7″. The first and the last plate are inscribed on one side only and the remaining three on both the sides. The plates have a hole, .5″ in diameter, for the ring which strung them together, but neither the ring nor the seal which it must have carried has been found. All the plates are in a good state of preservation. Their weight is 195 *tōlās*.

The record consists of 55 lines, which are unevenly distributed on the eight sides of the five plates, some having six and others seven or eight lines inscribed on them. The first two and the last two plates are neatly engraved. The letters on the third plate are, however, carelessly incised. In some places they are imperfectly formed or run into one another. The language of this portion of the record is very faulty and contains some Prakrit words and affixes. This clearly indicates that **this plate is spurious.** It seems to have been substituted for the original third plate of the grant.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety. The following peculiarities may be noted: The medial *ī* (long) is shown either by a dot in a curve as in *-kālīya*, line 42, or by two curves, one inside the other, as in *śrī-Pravarasēnasya* in line 4; the medial *au* is bipartite as in *dauhitrasya*, line 8; *t* and *n* are sometimes confused as in *āchchhēntā*, lines 51-52; the letter *l* has generally a short vertical on the right, but sometimes it sharply curves to the left, see *Lēkhapallikā-* in line 26; the sign of *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in line 43 and the **numerical symbols** for 20, 9, 7 and 5 in lines 27, 28, 30, 31 and 53.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for two benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. The portion on the third plate, which, as shown above, is probably spurious, is very carelessly drafted and contains some Prakrit words such as *vatthavva* or *vātthavva* (for *vāstavya*) in lines 28 and 31, and *pānuvisā* or *pānuvisā* (for *pañchavimśati*) in lines 26 and 29. Some of the expressions used in this portion are, again, very obscure; see, e.g., *padannarāti* in line 28 and *nijuttinarāti* in line 31. In other parts the present record does not present any difficulties of interpretation. As regards **orthography,** we may note that a nasal is used for *anusvāra* as in *ansa-*, line 5 and *trinśe*, line 53; *li* is used for the vowel *ḷi* in *sa-klipt-ōpaklipta* in line 41 and the consonant following *r* is reduplicated as in *abhivarddhamāna-*, line 13.

The record opens with the word *drishtam* 'seen' The charter was granted by the **Vākātaka king Pravarasēna II.** His genealogy is given here as in his other grants, his maternal grandfather being called *Rājādhirāja* **Dēvagupta.** The plates were issued from the temple of **Pravarēśvara,** but the place where this temple was situated has not been mentioned Pravarēśvara was evidently the name of the Śivalinga installed by the Vākātaka king **Pravarasēna I** and named after himself The territorial division in which the temple was situated is called Pravarēśvara-shadvimśati-vātaka in the Bēlorā plates (two sets), issued in the early part of Pravarasēna II's reign Its exact location cannot be determined, but it was probably situated in the Wardhā District

The present grant is **dated,** in line 53, on the **tenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha** in the **twenty-ninth** regnal **year** of Pravarasēna II It is the last known grant of this king. It was written by **Āchārya**[1] while **Mādhappa** was the *Sēnāpati*

The **object** of the present inscription was to record the gift of two thousand *nivartanas* of land in the village **Dhuvavāṭaka** included in the territorial division of **Vāruchcharājya,** to several Brāhmanas of different *Charanas* (*śākhās*) and *gotras* Only four of them viz Yajñārya, Bhōjārya, Sōmārya and Dharmārya are mentioned by name All of them belonged to the *Vājasanēya* or White *Yajurvēda,* and the first three of them are explicitly stated to be of Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* The villages **Brāhmaṇavātaka, Ajakarna, Badarīgrāma** and **Darbhapatha** are mentioned while stating the boundaries of Dhuvavātaka This donated land was given in exchange for another village named **Vijayapallīvātaka**[2] which had been previously gifted by Prithivīrāja i e by Prithivīshēna I In the spurious third plate which was inserted in the charter later, two other gifts of twenty-five *nivartanas* each, together with an additional *nivartana* for building a residential house, are recorded on the occasion of *tilavāchanaka* (i.e a *śrāddha*) in favour of the Brāhmana **Sōmārya,** who was one of the donees of the original grant and resided at **Kāllāra.** The first piece of land was situated in the village of **Lēkhapallikā** and the second in that of **Saṅgamikā,** both being included in the territorial division called **Ārammirājya.**

Both these gifts purport to have been made in the same regnal year as the original grant, viz. the twenty-ninth, but the first was given on the seventh day of the fifth fortnight, and the second on the ninth day of the seventh fortnight of the rainy season It will be noticed that this method of recording a gift in a season, a fortnight and a day is different from that used in line 53 while registering the original gift viz by citing a month, a bright or dark fortnight and a *tithi.* Such season dates occur only in two other Vākāṭaka inscriptions viz the Bāsim plates[3] of Vindhyaśakti II and the Dudiā plates[4] of Pravarasēna II. This difference in dating the two gifts adds to the suspicion about the genuineness of the third plate in which they are recorded It seems plain that the Brāhmana Sōmārya, in whose favour they are said to have been made, got the third plate prepared and engraved, and surreptitiously inserted it in the original charter

As for the **localities** mentioned in this grant, **Vijayapallīvāṭaka** may be Bijagōrā on the left bank of the Kanhān, about four miles to the north of the Multāi-Chhindwārā road. **Vāruchcha,** the headquarters of the **Vāruchcha-rājya,** may be Vārēgaon, about four miles west of Pāndhurnā The village **Dhuvavāṭaka,** in which the donated land was situated, cannot now be traced, but two of its boundary villages still exist in the neighbourhood

[1] Achārya was the scribe of the Siwanī plates (No 7) also.
[2] For another such exchange, see No 15, lines 6-7
[3] No 23, line 28 and 29.
[4] No. 10, line 28.

of Ṭīgaon Thus **Badarīgrāma** may be modern Bōrgaon which lies about two miles to the north, and **Ajakarna** may be the same as Ajangaon, about four miles south by east of Ṭīgaon The two villages **Lēkhapallika** and **Sangamika** mentioned in the spurious third plate as situated in the territorial division of **Ārammi-rājya** may be identical with Lākhāpur near Chikhalī on the Multāi-Chhindwārā road, and Sangam near the confluence of the rivers Kanhān and Bel **Ārammi,** the headquarters of the territorial division in which they were situated, may be identical with Āmlā, a station on the Itārsi-Nāgpur line of the Central Railway Ārammirājya is also mentioned in the Dudiā plates[1] which, again, were found in the Chhindwārā District **Kāllāra** where the Brāhmana Sōmārya was residing may be Khērlī, about 13 miles north of Multāi The other places cannot be identified

TEST[2]

First Plate

1 दृष्टम् [।*] प्रवरेश्वरदेवकुलस्थानात् [।*] अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्य-
2 षोडश्यतिरात्रवाजपेयबृहस्पतिसवसाद्य द्य क्र[3][च*]-
3 तुरश्य(श्व)म(मे)धि(ध)याजिन[4] विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्राट्[5] वाका-
4 टकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूना सून[6] अत्य-
5 न्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य ।[7] अन्स[8]भारसन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गा(ङ्गो)-
6 द्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवन्शानाम्[9] पराक्रमा-
7 [धि]गतभागीरत्थ्यामल[10]जलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्ताना दशाश्वमेधाव-

Second Plate: First Side

8 वभृथस्नाताना(ना) महाराजश्रि(श्री)भवणे(ना)गदौहित्रस्य गौत-
9 मीपुत्रस्य[11] वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनो[ ]
10 अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्यज्जव[12]कारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्रम-
11 नयविनयमाहात्व्यधिमत्वपात्रगत[13]धर्म्मविज-
12 यित्वमनोनैर्म्मल्यादिगुणसमुदितस्य वषशत-[14]
13 मभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिण[.*]
14 युधिष्ठिरवृत्ते वाकाटकाना(ना) महाराजपृथिविसे-

Second Plate: Second Side

15 णस्य[15] सूनो भगवतश्चक्रपाण(णे) प्रसादोपा[र्ज्जि]त[श्री]-
16 समुदयस्य वाकाटकान(ना) महाराजश्रि(श्री)रुद्रसेनस्य सुनो[16] सु[नो]

---

[1] No. 10, line 13

[2] From ink-impressions supplied by Mr Krishna Dev and Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

[3] Read साद्यस्क्र-

[4] Here and in several places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

[5] Read सम्राजो

[6] Read सूनो सूनो.

[7] This mark of punctuation is redundant.

[8] Read अस-

[9] Read वशानाम्-.

[10] Read भागीरत्थ्यमल-

[11] Read गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य as in other cognate grants.

[12] Read सत्यार्ज्जव-.

[13] Read माहात्म्यधीमत्त्वपात्रगतभक्तित्व-

[14] Read वर्षशत-

[15] Read पृथिवीषेणस्य

[16] Read सूनो. The following word is redundant.

17 राजाधिराज[1]श्रि(श्री)देवगुप्तसुताया(या) प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्न-
18 न्न[2]स्य शम्भो. प्रस(सा)दधृति(त)कार्त्तयुगस्य वाकाटकाना(ना)महा-
19 र(रा)जश्रि(श्री)प्रवरसेनस्य वचन(ना)त् पृथिविराजप्रवृतस्य[3]
20 विजयपल्लीवाटकस्य प्रतिवस्तु वारुच्चराज्ये [धु]ववास(ट)क(के)
21 ब्राह्मणवाटक ग्रामस्यापरपार्श्वे[4] गत्ताया[5] अजकर्ण्णग्र(ग्रा)मपथस्य
22 उत्तरेण बदरि(री)ग्रामपूर्व्वेण दभापथस्य परेण[6] एषाम्मध्ये भूमे[*]

Third Plate: First Side

23 सहस्रा[णि][7] द्वे राजक्यमानेन[8] नानागोत्रचरणेभ्यो[9] दत्तानि[10]। तत्र प्रतिग्राहका-
24 स्तद्यथा वाजिकौण्डिन्यसगोत्रयज्ञार्य्यभोजार्य्यवाजिकौण्डिन्यसगोत्र-
25 सोमार्य्यवाजिधर्म्म(र्म्मा)र्य्य एतप्र(त्प्र)मुखाना(णा) ब्राम्हना(णा)ना दत्त(तम्) [।*]
26 आरम्मिराज्यलेखपल्लिकाए(या) रायक्यमानेन[11] भूमि पाणुविसा[12] निवे[शन]-
27 निवत्तणेण[13] सह [चे]हामुष्मिके धर्म्मस्थाने तिलवाचनके सव्वस्तरे[14]२० ९
28 वास[15] ५ दिव[16]७ पदन्नराति[17]२० काल्लारवत्थव्व[18] वाजिकौण्डिन्यसोमार्य्यस्य दत्ता [।*]

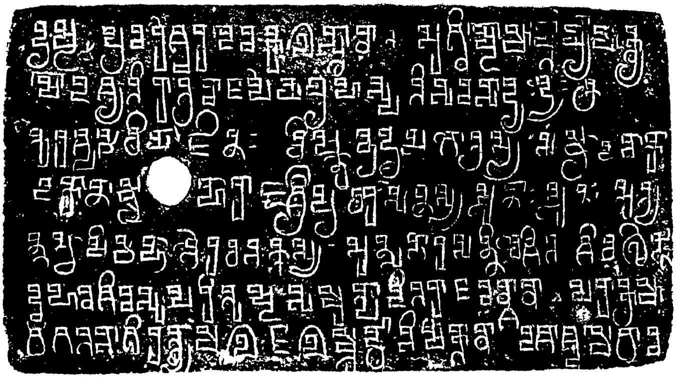
Third Plate. Second Side

29 आरम्मिरज्ज[19] सङ्गविकाए[20] राजक्यमानेन[21] भुमि पानुविसा[22] निवेशननिवत्तने-
30 न[23] सह चेहामुष्मिके धर्मस्थाने तिलवाचनके ज(च) सव्व[24]२० ९ वास[25] [७] दिव[26] ९
31 सवत्त[27] जात व[षा]७ दिवस[28] ५ निजुत्तिनराति[29]२० काल्लारवात्थव्व[30] वाजिकौण्डिन्य-
32 सगोत्रसोमार्य्यस्य दत्त[31] [।*] यतोस्मस(त्स)न्तका[*] सर्व्वाद्ध्यक्षनियोगन(नि)यु[क्ता *]
33 आज्ञासच(चा)रिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भटाश्छात्राश्च विश्रुतपूर्व्वज्ञाज्ञाप[इ](यि)

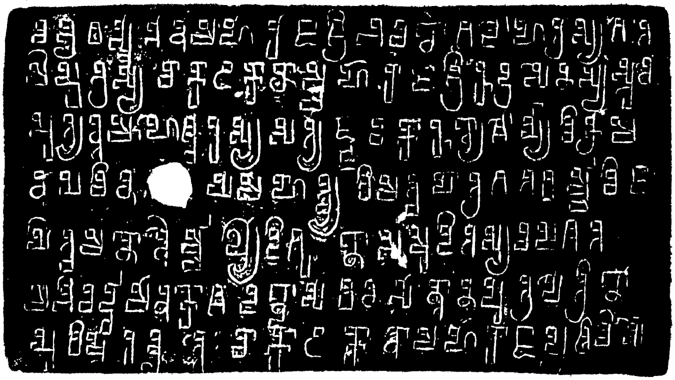
---

[1] In other Vākāṭaka grants this title is mentioned as महाराजाधिराज
[2] This *akshara* is redundant
[3] Read पृथिवीराजप्रदत्तस्य
[4] Read ब्राह्मणवाटकग्रामस्यापरपार्श्वे
[5] Read गर्त्ताया.
[6] Read दर्भपथस्यापरेण
[7] Read सहस्रे
[8] Read राजमानेन
[9] Read ब्राह्मणेभ्यो after नानागोत्रचरणेभ्यो
[10] Read दत्ते (qualifying सहस्रे द्वे in this very line)
[11] Read राजमानेन
[12] Read भूमे पञ्चविंशति.
[13] Read निवेशननिवर्तनेन सह
[14] Read सवत्सरे
[15] Read वर्षापक्षे
[16] Read दिवसे
[17] The meaning of this is not clear to me
[18] Read वास्तव्य-
[19] Read आरम्मिराज्ये
[20] Read सगमिकाया
[21] Read राजमानेन
[22] Read भूमे पञ्चविंशति
[23] Read निवेशननिवर्तनेन
[24] Read सवत्सरे
[25] Read वर्षापक्षे
[26] Read दिवसे
[27] Read सवत्सरे-
[28] This date appears superfluous
[29] The meaning of this is not clear to me.
[30] Read वास्तव्य-
[31] Read दत्ता (qualifying भूमि: in line 29 above).

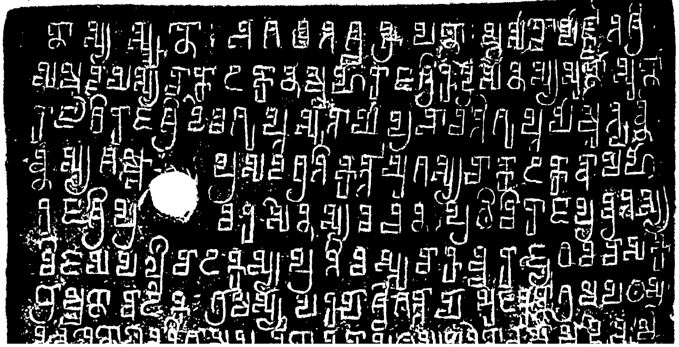
PĀNḌHURṆĀ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II



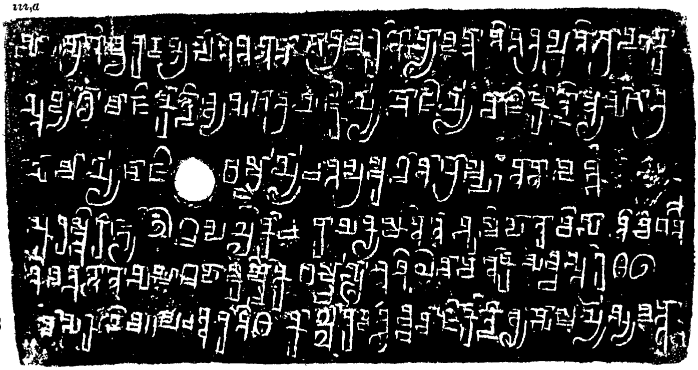
ii,a



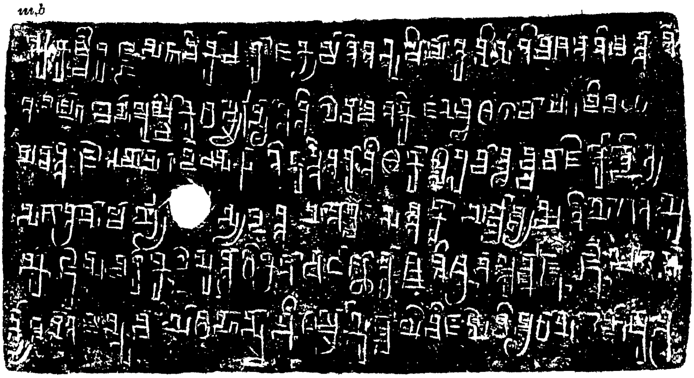
ii,b



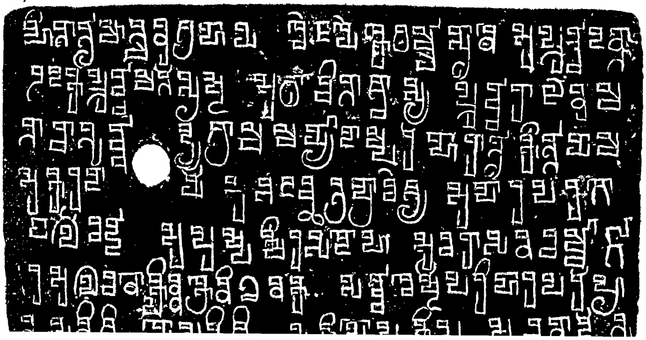
iii,a



iii,b



iv,a



34 व्या[.*][1] व(वि)दितमस्तु व(व) यथेहास्मामि धर्म्मायुर्ब्बलविजये(य)विवृध(द्ध)ये इहामुत्र-

Fourth Plate · First Side

35 हितार्त्थमात्म(त्मा)नुग्रहाय वैजयै(यि)के धर्म्मस्थाने अपूर्व्वदत्ता(त्या)
36 उदकपूर्व्वमतिसृष्ट[2][।*] अथोचिताश्च पूर्व्वराजानुम-
37 ता[*] चातुर्वैद्यग्राममर्य्यादाम्परिहारार्त्थे[3] कीर्त्तयाम[4][।*]
38 अकरदायि[5] अभटच्छत्रप्रावेश्य[6] अपार(रं)परगो-
39 बलिवर्द्द[*] अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोह[*] अच(चा)रासनचर्म्माङ्गा-
40 र[*] अलवणक्लिन्नक्रेनि(णि)खनक[*] सर्व्ववे(वि)ष्टिपरिहारपरिहृ-
41 त[*] सनिधि[*] सोपनिधि[*] सक्लिप्तोपक्लि[प्त][*][7] आचन्द्रादित्थ(त्य)-

Fourth Plate · Second Side

42 कालीय[*] पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी भुञ्जता न केनचित्व्या(द्व्या)घा-
43 तऽकर्त्तव्य[*] सर्व्वक्रियाभि[*] स(स)रक्षितव्य[*] परिवर्द्धयित-
44 व्यश्च[।*] यश्चास्मच्छासनमगणयमानो(न) स्वल्पामपि प-
45 रिबाधा(धा) कुर्य्यात् कारयीत वा[8] तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदित-
46 स्य सदण्डनिग्रह(ह) कुर्य्याम [।*] अस्मि(स्मि)श्च धर्मादरकरणे
47 अति(ती)तान(ने)कराजदन्ता(त्त)स[ञ्चि]त(न्त)नपरिपालन(न) कृतपुण्यानुकि(की)-
48 र्त्तनपरिहारार्त्थ(र्त्थं) न कीर्त्तयाम [*] [।*] वा(व्या)सगीतो(तौ) चात्र

Fifth Plate

49 श्लोकौ प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्यौ [।*] स्वदत्ता(त्तां) परदन्ता(त्तां) [वा] यो हरेत व-
50 सुन्धराम् [।*] गवा(वां) शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृतम्[9] [॥ १ ॥*]
51 षष्टी(ष्टिं) वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिद [।*] आच्छे-
52 त्ता(त्ता) चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ॥[२॥*] सावत्सर ए-
53 कुणत्रिङ्शे[10] २० ९ वैशाखमासस्य कृष्णपक्षे दशम्य(म्या)म्
54 लिखित सेनापतौ माधप्पे । मा प्पसन्तकेन
55 लिखितमायार्य्येण[11]।

TRANSLATION

Seen From the place of the **temple of Pravarēśvara**—

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II),** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas,** who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the *Krita-yuga* (Golden Age) (*on the earth*), who was born of **Prabhāvatīguptā,** the daughter of the *Rājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta,** (*and*) who is the son of the illustrious **Rudrasēna (II),** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**—

1 Read विश्रुतपूर्वाज्ञयाज्ञापयितव्या

2 Read -मतिसृष्टा if it has to qualify some word like भूमि

3 Read चातुर्विद्यग्राममर्य्यादा परिहारार्त्थं

4 Read कीर्त्तयाम

5 Read अकरदायी

6 Read अभटच्छात्रप्रावेश्य These expressions, which qualify some word like ग्राम, are really inapplicable here as the object of the gift is some land and not a village.

7 Read सक्लृप्तोपक्लृप्त

8 Read कारयेद्वा.

9 Metre of this and the following verse · *Anushtubh*

10 Read संवत्सरे एकोनत्रिंशे

11 लिखित is unnecessarily repeated Read आचार्येण. Āchārya is mentioned as the scribe in line 35 of the Siwanī plates (No. 7) also

(*For translation of lines* 1 *to* 19, *see above, pp* 13-14.)

(Line 19) In exchange for **Vijayapallīvātaka** granted by **Prithivīrāja**[1], land, measuring two thousand *nivartanas* by the royal measure in (*the village*) **Dhuvavātaka,** situated in (*the territorial division called*) **Vāruchcha-rājya** which lies in the low ground by the western boundary of the village **Brāhmanavātaka,** to the north of the way to the village **Ajakarna,** to the east of the village **Badarī** and to the west of (*the village*) **Darbhapatha,** has been donated (*by Us*) to Brāhmanas of various *gōtras* and *charaṇas*.

(Line 23) The recipients (*of the gift*) are as follows:—(*This land*) has been donated to Brāhmanas, the foremost of whom are **Yajñārya** and **Bhojārya** of the Vājasanēya (*śākhā*) and the Kaundinya *gōtra*, **Sōmārya** of the Vājasanēya (*śākhā*) and Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, and **Dharmārya** of the Vājasanēya (*śākhā*).

(Line 26) Further, here at the place of religious worship (*for Our well-being*) in this and the other world at the recitation (*of sacred texts*) accompanied by a libation of sesamum seeds[2], on the **7th day** in the **5th** (*fortnight*) of **the 29th** (*regnal*) **year**[3], land measuring twenty-five *nivartanas* by the royal measure together with a *nivartana* for residence, situated in the village **Lēkhapallika** included in (the territorial division) **Ārammi-rājya,** has been donated to **Sōmārya** of the Vājasanēya (*śākhā*) and the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, residing at **Kallāra.**

(Line 29) Again, here at the place of religious worship (*for Our well-being*) in this and the other world, at the recitation (*of sacred texts*), accompanied by (*a libation of*) sesamum seeds, on the **9th day** in the **7th** (*fortnight of*) the **rainy season** in the (regnal) **year 29**[4], land measuring twenty-five *nivartanas* together with a *nivartana* for residence, situated in (*the village*) **Saṅgamikā** in (the territorial division) **Ārammi-rājya,** has been donated to Sōmārya of the Vājasanēya (Śākhā) and the Kaundinya *gōtra*, residing at **Kāllāra.**

(Line 32) Wherefore, Our officers of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the *Sarvādhyaksha* (General Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (*Our*) command, (*Our*) soldiers and policemen should be directed by the following command which is well-known (*to them*).—

"Be it known to you that in order to increase (*Our*) religious merit, power and victory and to secure (*Our*) well-being in this world and the next, (*the aforementioned land*) has been donated as a gift not previously made, with the pouring out of water at our victorious place of religious worship.

(*For translation of lines* 36 *to* 48, *see above, pp* 14-15 *and p.* 32.)

(Line 48) And the following verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authoritative on this point:—

(*Here occur two benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(Line 52) (*This charter*) has been written by **Āchārya,** a servant of **Mādhappa,** on the **tenth** (*tithi*) **of the dark fortnight of the month Vaiśākha in the twenty-ninth**-(*in figures*) **20** (*and*) **9-year, Mādhappa** being the *Sēnāpati*.

---

[1] *I.e.*, by Prithivīshēna I.

[2] *I.e.*, at a *śrāddha*.

[3] Line 20 contains the word *padannarāti* followed by 20, the meaning of which is not clear to me.

[4] Line 31 contains another date and the word *niyuttanarāti* followed by 20, the significance of which is not clear to me.

PĀṆḌHURṆĀ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

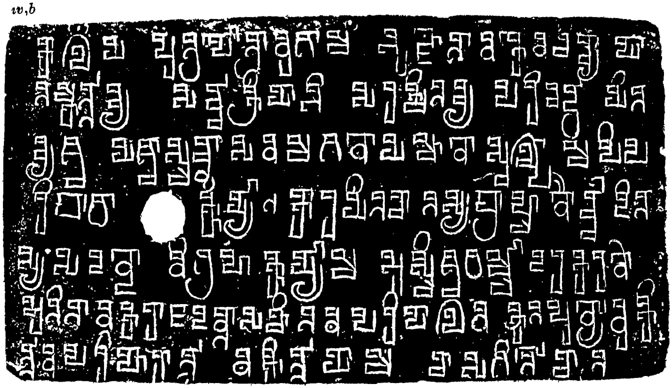
iv,b

42 42

44 44

46 46

48 48

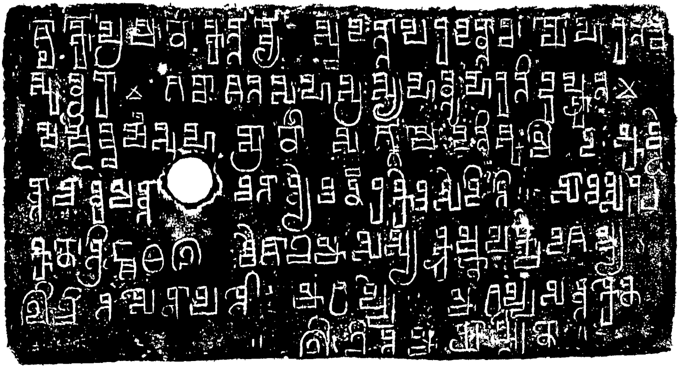


v

50 50

52 52

54 54



No 15. Plate XV

PĀṬNĀ MUSEUM PLATE OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THIS plate was first brought to notice by Dr A S Altekar, who edited it without facsimiles in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol XIV, pp. 465 f Its exact find-spot was long unknown In his introductory remarks Dr Altekar stated that it was found ' somewhere in the Central Provinces ' Dr K P Jayaswal remarked in his *History of India, 150 A D to 350 A D*, p 74, that it came from Jabalpur Dr Hiralal thought, on the other hand, that the present plate belonged to the set of three or four plates found near Rāmtēk in Vidarbha, most of which are now missing[1] The present plate records the grant of a village and mentions its boundaries on all sides, but in the absence of definite information about its provenance none of the places could be satisfactorily identified After a good deal of correspondence in 1936, I succeeded in settling the provenance of the plate, which enabled me to identify the places mentioned in it I published a note on it in the *Journal of the Nagpur University*, No II, pp 48 f I edit it here from an excellent facsimile of it, which I owe to the courtesy of the late Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh, Curator of the Pātnā Museum

From the information supplied by Dr P N Sen of Narsinghpur it seems that the plate was discovered in about 1919, while digging the foundation of the bungalow (or one of its out-houses) of the District Superintendent of Police at **Balāghāt.** Dr P N Sen, who was then Civil Surgeon at Bālāghāt, received the present plate from the District Superintendent of Police (whose name he could not recollect), and sent it to his brother Rai Bahadur Manmath Nath Sen Dr Sen does not know what became of the other plates of the set Mr M N Sen who was then Sub-divisional Officer at Jamātrā, Santāl Parganā, presented it to the Pātnā Museum through the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Pātnā It has since then been deposited in that Museum

' The **plate** measures about 7 25" by 4 2" at the ends, the length is, however, 7 5" in the middle The thickness is 1" It is quite smooth and nicely preserved, hardly a single letter has been damaged Its edges are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims Letters are distinct, but not very deep, so that they do not show through on the reverse The engraving is good... Towards the proper right of the plate, about an inch from the centre, there is a hole about 35" in diameter It was obviously intended for the ring to pass through, which must have for a long time connected this plate with the remaining ones of the set The weight of the plates is 30 *tōlās*[2]'.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets They resemble those of the other grants of the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna II The only peculiarities that need be noted here are as follows —The rare initial *ai* occurs in *aihik-*, line 7, and the subscript *jh* in *Madhukajjharyyā* in line 4 The medial *i* (short) is turned to the right in *kuṭumbinō*, line 5, the medial *au* is bipartite as in *Kaundinya*, line 8; *ḍ* and *d* are clearly distinguished, *th* is shown with a ringlet at the bottom as in *Millukadratha-*, line 3 The **language** is Sanskrit and the extant portion is wholly in prose As regards **orthography,** the only peculiarity noticed

[1] *I.C P B I*, p 5.
[2] *J.B O R S.*, Vol XIV, pp. 465-66

is the reduplication of the consonant following *r* as in *-mārggē*, line 3 The *visarga* is incorrectly omitted in several places The *upadhmānīya* occurs in line 6

The present plate is probably the **third plate** of a set of four or five plates. As in other grants of Pravarasēna II, the first two plates must have contained the name of the place of issue and the genealogy of the donor The record on the present plate commences with the description of **Pravarasēna II** as the son of **Prabhāvatīguptā** and as one who carried the *śūla* obtained by the favour of (the god) Śambhu This is the only grant of Pravarasēna II in which he is described in this manner, the usual expression being *Sambhōh prasāda-dhṛiti(ta)-Kārtayugasya* meaning that he had established the *Kṛita-yuga* or the Golden Age on the earth by the grace of the god Śambhu[1] The expression in the present plate makes a better sense and recalls a similar description of the Bhāraśivas that their royal family was created by the god Śiva, who was pleased by their carrying his *linga* (or emblem such as *triśūla*) on their shoulders

The **object** of the present plate is to record the grant, by the **Vākāṭaka** *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna II,** of the village **Śrīparṇakā** to three Brāhmaṇas, *viz*, Gangārya, son of Vēdārya, of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, Vasurārya of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and Rudrārya of the Taittirīya *śākhā* and Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* The donated village was situated in the *mārga* of **Sundhāti** and lay to the east of **Brahmapuraka,** to the west of **Millukadratha,** to the north of **Madhukajjharī** and to the south of **Darbhaviraka.** The grant was made in exchange for the previous gift of the village **Māṇapallikā** which was situated on the *mārga* of **Yaśapura.** The reason which necessitated this exchange is not stated As in the Siwanī plates[2], the village granted is described as *sa-pañchāśatka*, the meaning of which is uncertain Fleet doubtfully suggested that the expression possibly meant 'with fifty hamlets' This does not appear to be correct Dr Altekar thinks that it indicates some fiscal privilege[3] Perhaps it means 'together with the sales tax amounting to one-fiftieth of the sale price[4]'

It is noteworthy that the grant was made by Pravarasēna II for the accumulation of religious merit and for (well-being in) this world and the next of his mother (*mātṛi-bhaṭṭārikā*) This shows that the present plate does not belong to the same set as the Rāmtēk plate[5], for the latter records a grant made by Pravarasēna II for the increase of his own religious merit, life, strength and prosperity as well as for his well-being in this world and the next The extant portion mentions no date

As for the **places** mentioned in the present plates, Dr. Altekar thought that **Brahmapuraka** was the same village which was gifted by Pravarasēna II by his Siwanī plates[6] He identified it with Brāhmanawāḍā near Achalpur This identification is not correct, for Brahmapuraka mentioned in the Siwanī plates was situated in the Bennākārparabhōga which, as we have seen, comprised the territory in the vicinity of the Beṇṇā or Waingangā[7] It could not have been situated so far in west in the Achalpur *tahsil* of the Amarāvatī District. Dr. Altekar's identification of **Madhukajjharī** with the Madhunadī mentioned in the Chammak plates cannot also be accepted for the same reason As the plates were discovered at Bālāghāt, we must search for the places mentioned in them in the vicinity of that town.

---

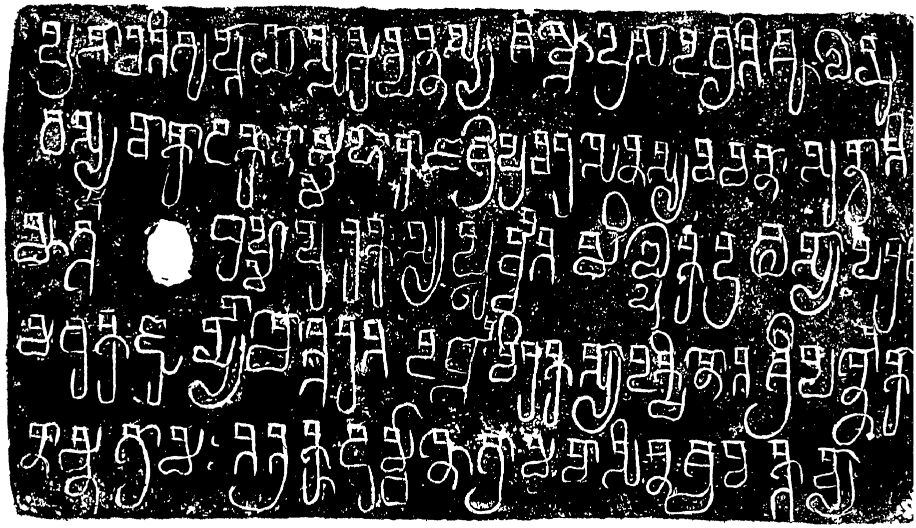
[1]See, e g, No 3, lines 15-16
[2]No 7, line 20
[3]*J B O.R S*, Vol XIV, p 475.
[4]Cf. *Manusmriti*, VII, 130 पञ्चाशद्भाग आदेयो राज्ञा पशुहिरण्ययो ।
[5]See No 16, lines 2-3
[6]*J B.O.R.S*, Vol XIV, p 472
[7][illegible]

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

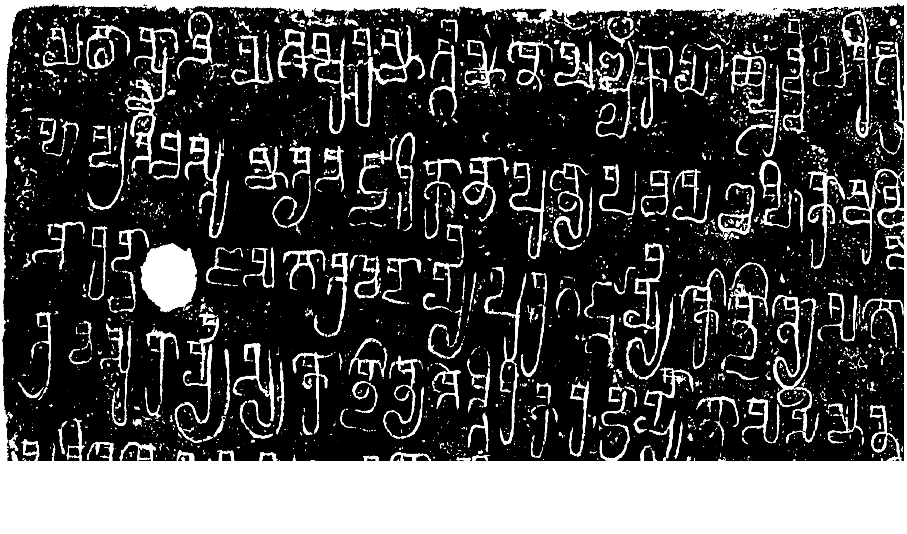
VOL V PLATE·XV

PĀTNĀ MUSEUM PLATE OF PRAVARASĒNA II

iii,a



iii,b



I have been able to identify some of them with the help of detailed Survey maps **Brahmapuraka** is probably Bahmanī, about 12 miles north by west of Bālāghāt It lies on the road which connects Lālburrā with Samnāpur The latter may represent ancient **Sundhā** or **Sundhāpura. Madhukajjharī** is probably Murjhar, about 3 miles south-east of Bahmanī, and **Millukadratha,** modern Mugardarā, 2 miles north by east of Bahmanī Nothing corresponding to **Śrīparnakā** can be traced in the vicinity of these places, but it was probably situated between Bahmanī and Mugardarā **Darbhaviraka** cannot now be traced

It will thus be seen that like the villages named in the Tirōdī plates[1], the villages mentioned in the present grant can be traced in the Bālāghāt District As shown elsewhere, the villages mentioned in the Siwanī plates can be located in the Bhandārā District[2] These identifications show that the country under the direct rule of Pravarasēna II comprised the modern districts of Bālāghāt and Bhandārā and extended to the western boundary of Dakshina Kōsala

TEXT[3]

Third Plate. First Side

1 प्रभावति[4]गुप्तायास्समुत्पन्नस्य[5] शम्भो [*] प्रसादधृति (त) शूल (ला) यु-
2 धस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रि (श्री) प्रवरसेनस्य वचना[त्*][9] सुन्धाति-
3 मार्ग्गे ब्रह्मपुरकस्य पूर्व्वत[*] मिल्लुकद्रथस्यापरत[*]
4 मधुकज्झर्य्या [*] चोत्तरत[ ] दर्भविरकस्या (स्य) दक्षिणत[*] श्रीपर्ण्णका
5 नाम्न (म्ना) ग्राम तत्र कुटुम्बिनो ग्रामवासिनश्च वक्तव्या[*]

Third Plate. Second Side

6 यथास्माभि यशपुरे मार्ग्गे[6] माणपल्लिकायाःपूर्व्वपरिग्र-
7 हप्रतिवस्तु मातृभट्टारिकाना (णा) पुण्योपचये ऐहिकामुष्मि[7]-
8 भारद्वाजसगोत्रवेदार्य्यपुत्रगङ्गार्य्य–कौण्डिण्य (न्य) सगो-
9 त्रवसुरार्य्यस्य[8] कौण्डिण्य (न्य) तैत्तिरिक (रीय) रुद्रार्य्याण (णा) समीमान्त-
10 परिच्छेदेन सपञ्चाशको (त्को) ग्रामो दत (त्त ॥)

TRANSLATION

(*The first two plates of this grant are not forthcoming*)

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II),** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas,** born of **Prabhāvatīguptā,** who, by the grace of Śambhu, wields a spear,

(*There is*) a village named **Śrīparnakā,** in the territorial division (*mārga*) of **Sundhāti,** (*which lies*) to the east of **Brahmapuraka,** to the west of **Millukadratha** and to the north of **Madhukajjharī** and to the south of **Darbhaviraka.** The householders and residents of the

[1] Above, pp. 48 f
[2] Above, p 29
[3] From ink impressions supplied by the Curator of the Pātnā Museum.
[4] The dot in the superscript curve of this *akshara* is probably due to a fault in the copper.
[5] Read प्रभावतिगुप्ताया समुत्पन्नस्य as in other cognate grants
[6] Perhaps यशपुरमार्ग्गे was intended
[7] The expression is incomplete Read ऐहिकामुष्मिकहितार्थं. Cf. इहामुत्रहितार्थं which occurs in several cognate plates.
[8] Read वसुरार्य्य- as the drafter has used a compound containing the names of the three donees.
[9] The *anusvāra* on this *akshara* may have been cancelled.

village should be informed that for the increase of the religious merit and for the well-being, in this world and the next, of Our Queen-Mother, We have donated (*this*) village extending to its boundaries together with the right to levy a tax of one-fiftieth (*of the sale price*) to (*the Brāhmaṇas*) Gangārya, son of Vēdārya, of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, Vasurārya of the Kaundinya *gōtra* (*and*) Rudrārya of the Kaundinya (*gōtra*) and Taittirīya *Śākhā*, in exchange for the previously donated **Māṇapallikā** in the territorial division (*mārga*) of **Yaśapura.**

(*The subsequent plates of the grant are not forthcoming*)

No 16 PLATE XVI

RĀMṬĒK PLATE OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THIS plate belongs to a set of about five copper-plates which was discovered a few years ago by some contractors while digging for manganese at Mansar near **Rāmtēk,** about 28 miles from Nāgpur The contractors divided the plates among themselves After some of them had left the province, the news of the discovery reached Mr G P Dick, Barrister-at-Law of Nagpur, who could consequently recover only one of the plates It was in his possession until his departure for England Subsequently, it seems to have been lost Dr Hiralal, to whom impressions and photographs of the plate were sent soon after it was discovered, gave a short account of it in his *Inscriptions in C P and Berar* (second edition), pp 4-5 As the plate was unpublished, I requested Dr. Hiralal to send its ink impressions to me He complied with my request, but the impressions were lost in transit He subsequently sent me its photographs, from which I edited it with facsimiles in the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. III, pp 20-21 I edit it here from the same facsimiles

As shown below, the present **plate** records a Vākātaka grant A Vākātaka copper-plate inscription generally consists of five plates Of them, the first two contain the genealogy of the donor, commencing from his ancestor Pravarasēna I On the third plate are generally given the particulars about the grant—the occasion on which it was made, the name, *gōtra* etc. of the donee, the name of the village, its boundaries, etc The fourth plate enumerates the conditions of the grant and the immunities allowed to the donee This is followed by the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, the regnal year when the grant was made and the names of the writer and the *Dūtaka,* which occupy the fifth plate. The present plate, which contains an enumeration of the immunities, is, therefore, the fourth or penultimate plate of its set. The photographs sent by Dr Hiralal measure 5·6" by 3 1". About 1 3" from the proper right end of them there is a round hole, 0 3" in diameter, for the ring which must have originally held the plates together. As the scale of the photographs is not known, it is not possible to state the exact dimensions of the original plate Judged by the photographs which have considerably faded, the plate seems to have been in a good state of preservation, only two or three letters in the last two lines being slightly damaged by rust There are five lines on either side The fifth line on the first side is somewhat shorter than the rest as there was no sufficient space for more letters in the lower proper left corner

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets and closely resemble those of the other grants of Pravarasēna II The only peculiarities worth noticing are that (i) the medial *au,* which is generally bipartite in Vākātaka records, is shown by two curves in *pautra,* line 7, the curve on the right hand being wrongly made to turn to the left; (ii) the sign for the medial *ī* (long) is a curling curve generally turning to the left (cf *kshīra-*, line 4), but in *bhuñjītah* (for *bhuñjatah*) in lines 7-8, it turns to the right, (iii) the signs for the *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* occur in lines 4 and 8 respectively The **language** is Sanskrit, and the extant portion is wholly in prose As will be seen from the transcript given below, the record has been written very incorrectly and carelessly. Absence of *sandhis,* omission of the *visarga,* the use of *n* for *ṇ* and of incorrect grammatical forms like *kūryyāt* and *kārayitā* are some of the glaring mistakes Similar mistakes are, however, noticed in all Vākātaka grants The scribe has omitted some words at the end of line 1 and several more after *atm-ānugrahāya* in line 3 as shown below in the notes to the transcribed text

As the first three plates are not forthcoming now, all important particulars such as the names of the donor and the donee, the land or the village granted, its boundaries etc are lost. But as the characters of the present plate resemble those of the Pātnā Museum and other plates of the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna II, the present grant also was probably made by him The opening words of the extant portion state that it was made for the increase of religious merit, life, strength and prosperity of the donor This statement clearly shows that the present plate could not have belonged to the same set as the Pātnā Museum plate which records a gift for the increase of the religious merit of Pravarasēna II's mother The subsequent portion records the usual immunities granted in respect of *agrahāra* villages. Except for certain variants, they are identical with those which usually figure in Vākāṭaka copper-plate inscriptions The concluding lines convey the royal order that none should cause an obstacle in the enjoyment of the gift, but that it should by all means be protected and augmented. This was followed by the usual warning, only a part of which appears on the present plate, that whoever, disobeying the royal order, would cause the slightest hindrance, would receive condign punishment, if reported against by the Brāhmanas. In the absence of the last plate, it is not possible to state the names of the writer and the *Dūtaka* nor the regnal year when the grant was made

The plate does not make any addition to our historical information; for the formal part of the grant which is preserved on the present plate is common to several other Vākātaka inscriptions

TEXT[1]

Fourth Plate: First Side

1 सर्व्वाद्धचक्षनियोगनियुक्ता आज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्राधगत[2]
2 पूर्व्वसमाज्ञया[3] ।[4] वक्तव्या यथास्माभिरात्मधर्म्मायुर्ब्बल-
3 मैश्वर्य्य[5]विवृद्धये इहामुत्र चात्मानुग्रहाय[6] अभट-
4 श्छत्रप्रावेश्य[7][*] अपारम्परगोबलिवर्द्द[*] अपुष्[8]फक्षीरसन्दो-
5 ह[*] अपारासन[9]चर्म्माङ्गार[*] अलवणक्लिप्तो[10]-

Fourth Plate. Second Side

6 क्रेणिखनक[*] सर्व्ववे(वि)ष्टिपरिहारपरिहि(हृ)त सपरिक्लिप्तो[11]-
7 परिक्लिप्त आचन्द्र(न्द्रा)दित्यकालीय[*] पुत्र[पौ]त्रानुगामी [।*] भु-
8 ञ्जीत[12] न केनचिव्या(द्व्या)घातऽकर्त्तव्य[·*] सर्व्वक्रियाभि(भी) रक्षि-

---

[1] From the facsimiles facing p 28 in *N U.J* , No III

[2] Read कुलपुत्राधिकृता भटाश्छात्राश्च as in the Pattan plates (No 13), line 25.

[3] Read विश्रुतपूर्व्वसमाज्ञया Cf विश्रुतपूर्व्वयाज्ञया in the Tirōdī and Chammak plates

[4] This mark of punctuation is superfluous

[5] Read -र्व्वलैश्वर्य्य-

[6] Some words like एष ग्राम उदकपूर्व्वमतिसृष्ट । अथास्योचिताम्पूर्वराजानुमता चातुर्व्विद्यग्रहारमर्यादा वितराम । तद्यथा are inadvertently omitted here

[7] Read अभटच्छात्रप्रावेश्य

[8] Read अपुष्प-

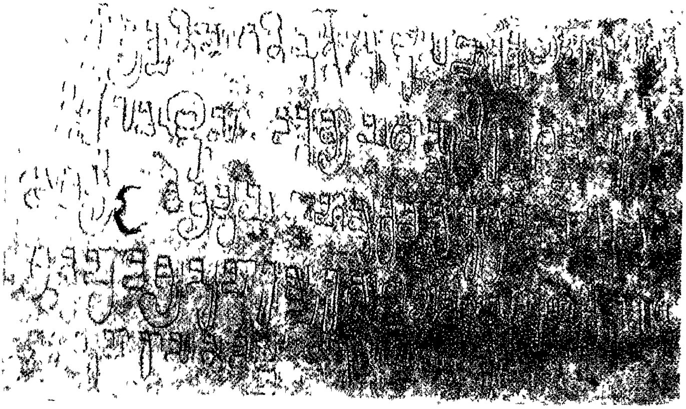
[9] Other cognate Vākātaka plates generally read अचारासन, but the Pattan plates have the same reading as here

[10] Other Vākātaka plates generally read अलवणक्लिन्नक्रेणिखनक , but the Poona plates of Prabhāvatī-guptā read अलवणकिण्वक्रेणिखनक .

[11] The usual reading is सक्लृप्तोपक्लृप्त

[12] Read भुञ्जत

RĀMṬĒK PLATE OF PRAVARASĒNA II



9 तव्य परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च [।*] यश्चास्मच्छासनमगनयमान[1]
10 स्वल्पामपि परिबाधा कूर्य्यात्कारयिता वा[2] तस्य ब्राम्हणै[3]-

Translation

(The first three plates of the grant are not forthcoming.)

(Our Officers of noble birth) who are employed by the order of the *Sarvādhyaksha* (General Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (*Our*) command, [Our soldiers and policemen] should be directed by the following order which is already well-known to them.—

(For translation of lines 2 to 10, see above, pp 14-15.)

(The subsequent plates of the grant are not forthcoming.)

---

1 Read -मगणयमान.

2 Read परिबाधा कुर्य्यात्कारयेद्वा

3 The concluding words of this sentence must have been - वेंदितस्य सदण्डनिग्रह कुर्य्याम as in other Vākātaka grants.

No 17 Plate XVII

AN UNFINISHED DURG PLATE

THIS plate was discovered at **Mōhallā,** the headquarters of the former Pānābāras Zamındarī ın the **Durg** District of Madhya Pradesh An ink ımpressıon of it was sent to the late Dr Hiralal, but he did not consıder ıt of suffıcıent ımportance for beıng ıncluded ın his *Inscrıptıons ın C P and Berar* I came to know of ıt ın January 1934 from a casual reference in hıs letter Later, he sent me an ink ımpression of ıt on which he had fortunately jotted down the name of its owner In the course of ınquirıes made by Mr B. A. Bambawale, Deputy Commıssioner of Durg, ıt was elıcıted that the plate was oııginally found at Mōhallā It ıs now deposited ın the Central Museum, Nagpur I edıted ıt with a facsımile in the *Bhārata Itıhāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala Quaıterly*, Vol XV[1] Later, I re-edited it in the *Epıgraphıa Indıca*, Vol. XXII, pp 207 f The ınscrıption ıs edıted here from the original plate

This **plate** was intended to be the **first** of a set of three or four copper-plates recording the charter of a Vākāṭaka kıng It is ınscrıbed only on one sıde It measures 8″ by 3 75″, and weighs 19½″ *tōlās* It ıs only 1/20″ ın thıckness and is thus the thınnest of all Vākāṭaka plates dıscovered so far About 1 9″ from the mıddle of the proper right margin there ıs a hole, 35″ ın dıameter, for a ring intended to connect it wıth other plates of the set But no such ring has been dıscovered so far The sıze of the plate and the posıtion of the hole show that it does not belong to the same set as the Indore plates or the Pātnā Museum third plate of Pravarasēna II

The plate contaıns five lınes only The letters are very neatly cut and do not show through on the reverse, though the plate is very thin The ends of the plate are neıther fashioned thicker nor raısed into rıms; still the inscrıption is ın a perfect state of preservation.

The **characters** are of the box-headed varıety of the southern alphabets They resemble in a general way those of the Rıddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā. The only pecuhıarıtıes that call for notice are as follows: The medial *au* is bıpartıte as ın other Vākātaka grants, *ḍ* has a round back and is not clearly dıstinguıshed from *d*, see *-shōḍaśy-*, line 1, *m* appears in a transitional cursıve form, wıth the lower box attached to ıts left arm as ın *Agnıshṭōm-*, line 1; its other form wıth the box attached to the rıght vertıcal, which ıs generally seen in the charters of Pravarasēna II, does not appear in this record The two forms appear sıde by side in the Rıddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā The form of *m* used in the present plate develops ultimately ınto that found ın the charters of the kıngs of Śarabhapura as well as in those of Tīvaradeva. The final *t* and *m* appear in a much reduced sıze and the latter has a looped base The **language** ıs Sanskrit and the extant portion is wholly ın prose The **orthography** shows the usual reduplication of the consonant precedıng *y* and of that following *r*; see *Bhāgıratthy-*, line 4 and *Āptōryyām-*, lıne 1

Wıth the exception of the place of issue, the record is ıdentıcal, so far as ıt goes, wıth the initial portion of the charters of Pravarasēna II and Prithvīshēna II It mentions by name only one king of the dynasty, viz , **Pravarasēna I.** It then refers to hıs grandson who was a great devotee of Svāmi-Mahābhairava, and who was the daughter's son of **Bhavanāga,** the *Mahārāja* of (the famıly of) the **Bhāraśivas.** The record on the plate stops just before the

[1] The artıcle ıs ıncluded ın G H. Khare's *Sources of the Medıaeval Hıstory of the Deccan,* Vol II, pp. 1 f.

mention of this grandson of Pravarasēna I, viz., Rudrasēna I. The plate purports to have been issued from **Padmapura.**

It seems that the **inscription** on the present plate **was not completed;** for the word *drishtam* 'seen' which usually occurs in the beginning of finished charters of the Vākāṭakas as a mark of authorization[1] is conspicuous by its absence here. There is in fact sufficient space for three letters in the beginning of the first line, which shows that the word *drishtam* was intended to be incised there after the record was completed. It may again be noted that the present plate leaves space sufficient for five letters at the end of the last line. The word *Gautamīputrasya* which follows *Bhavanāga-dauhitrasya* in other Vākāṭaka records could very well have been written in that space. In fact the engraver seems to have begun to incise that word, for faint traces of the top portion of the first syllable of that word can be noticed on the plate. That the engraver left so much space at the end shows that he received an order to stop before he could complete the line. Whether the record was incised on another set of plates cannot be determined at present.

It is also difficult to determine who intended to issue the present plate. The general resemblance between the characters of the present plate and those of the grants of Pravarasēna II suggests that it might be that Vākāṭaka king. It may, however, be noted that almost all the grants of Pravarasēna II are issued from either his earlier capital Nandivardhana or the later one, Pravarapura. If he had intended to issue the present plate, Pravarapura, not Padmapura, would, in all probability, have been mentioned as the place of issue. Besides, the palaeographic evidence detailed above seems to show that the present plate may be assigned to a later date. Padmapura is not known to have been a holy place, nor is a word like *vāsakāt* added to it, showing that it was the site of the donor's camp. It seems therefore that **Padmapura was the capital of a successor of Pravarasēna II** who intended to issue this charter.

It seems that the capital was shifted to Padmapura during the reign of Pravarasēna II's son Narendrasēna. The description in the Bālāghāṭ plates that Prithivīshēna II raised his sunken family suggests that there was some foreign invasion during the reign of his father Narēndrasēna when he was reduced to great straits. The invasion was probably by the Nala king Bhavadattavarman, who later occupied the western portion of the Vākāṭaka dominion and ruled from the erstwhile Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana. The Vākāṭaka king Narēndrasēna in this emergency appears to have shifted the seat of his government to Padmapura in the east where he had the support of his loyal feudatories, the rulers of Mēkalā and Kōsalā. Later, Narēndrasena's son Prithivīshēna II drove the enemy out of his ancestral dominion and even carried the war into his territory. He appears to have invaded and burnt the Nala capital Pushkarī as stated in the Pōdāgadh stone inscription.

The mention of Padmapura in the present plate is also interesting from another point of view. The well-known Sanskrit poet Bhavabhūti, who flourished towards the close of the seventh century A.C., mentions Padmapura in Vidarbha as his ancestral home. It is not unlikely that his ancestors who were great Mīmāmsakas and performed such great Vedic sacrifices as the Vājapēya were specially invited to their capital Padmapura by the Vākāṭaka kings who were patrons of Vedic learning and themselves performed great Vedic sacrifices. After the decline of the Vākāṭakas there were no great royal dynasties ruling in Vidarbha. Bhavabhūti seems there-

[1] The only exceptions known so far are (i) the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā (No. 8) and the India Office plate of Dēvasēna (No. 24). It does not occur also in the Bālāghāt plates of Prithivīshēna II, but that charter also was unfinished.

fore to have gone to the north where he found a patron in Yaśōvarman, the king of Kanauj[1]

As stated before, **Padmapura** was situated in Vidarbha. The country of Vidarbha was not confined to what is known now as Berar, but extended considerably to the east of the Wardhā. The Siwanī, Indore and Tirōdī plates of Pravarasēna II show that the country under the direct rule of that Vākāṭaka king extended to the eastern boundary of the Bhandārā and Bālāghāt Districts. As a matter of fact, there is now no village named Padmapura in Western Vidarbha, while there are at least six villages of that name in the Chāndā and Bhandārā Districts of Eastern Vidarbha. Of these, Padmapur, 2 miles from Āmgaon, a station on the Nagpur-Calcutta line of the South-Eastern Railway, is probably the Padmapura of the present plate. The village contains many ancient remains such as images of Hindu gods like Vishnu, those of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras like Pārśvanātha and Rishabhadēva, fragments of massive stone pillars and a large lintel measuring 8′×17′×1′ 6″. There are, besides, remnants of some old temples in a dilapidated condition. One beautifully carved mediaeval image of Śiva seems to have been brought over from there and is now preserved in the Central Museum, Nagpur. No other Padmapur in Vidarbha is reported to have such ancient relics. I therefore feel no hesitation in concluding that **Padmapur near Āmgaon** in the Bhandārā District was **the Vākāṭaka capital** and **the ancestral home of Bhavabhūti**[1].

TEXT[2]

1 पद्मपुरात्[3] [।*] अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्यतिरात्रवाजपेयबृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्कचतुरश्व-
2 मेधयाजिन विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रसम्राज वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनो सूनो
3 अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य असभारसन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्वहनशिवसुपरि-
4 तुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवशाना पराक्रमाधिगतभागि(गी)रथ्यमलजलमूर्द्ध्ना(र्द्धा)भिषिक्तानाम्
5 दशाश्वमेधावभृत(थ)स्नातानाम्भारशिवानाम्महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य[4]

TRANSLATION

From **Padmapura**—

(For translation of lines 1 *to* 5, *see above, p.* 13.)

(The subsequent plates of the grant have not been found.)

[1] For further discussion of this matter, see my article 'The Birth-place of Bhavabhuti' in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XI, pp. 287 f. and *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, pp. 21 f.

[2] From the original plate.

[3] There is a space of ·7″ sufficient for incising three letters before this word.

[4] There is a space of 1·3″ left after this word. Faint traces of the top portion of a letter can be seen on the plate.

AN UNFINISHED DURG PLATE

No 18: Plate XVIII

BĀLĀGHĀT PLATES OF PRITHIVĪSHĒNA II

THESE plates were found ‘ hanging to a tree in the jungle ’ somewhere in the District of **Balāghāt** in Madhya Pradesh some time before May 1893. They were sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and were later entrusted to Dr Kielhorn for being edited His article on them together with facsimiles was published posthumously in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, pp 267 f The plates are edited here from the same facsimiles Their present whereabouts are not known

‘ The **plates** are five in number, each between $6\frac{3}{4}''$ and $6\frac{7}{8}''$ long by between $3\frac{7}{8}''$ and $4''$ high, two of them contain no writing whatever, while of the three others (here described as plates i, ii and iii), the second is engraved on both sides and the first and the third on one side only Though the plates have no raised rims and are not fashioned thicker near the edges, the engraving on them is throughout in a perfect state of preservation The five plates are strung on a ring, which passes through a hole about $1\frac{1}{4}''$ distant from the middle of the proper right margin of each plate ’ The ring is circular, about $\frac{3}{4}''$ thick and between $3''$ and $3\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter The ends of it are flattened off and joined by a bolt, which had not been cut when the plates reached Dr Kielhorn ‘ On the ring described, there slides a smaller ring, made of a band of copper, the ends of which are fastened by a rivet which also passes through, and firmly holds, a flat disc of copper about $2\frac{3}{8}''$ in diameter Undoubtedly this disc was made to serve as a seal and to bear some writing, but nothing has been engraved on it[1].’

The plates were intended to record a grant of the **Vākātaka** *Mahārāja* **Prithivīshēṇa II,** but for some reason the inscription was not completed The extant portion of it consists of 35 lines inscribed on four sides of the first three plates The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets They resemble in a general way those of the grants of Pravarasēna II, but are less angular The only peculiarities that need be noticed here are as follows —The rare *jh* occurs as a subscript letter in *Ajjhita-*, line 31, *ḍ* and *d* are clearly distinguished, *v* appears in two forms, rectangular as in *-vāsakād-*, line 1 and round as in *vachanāt*, line 35, the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in line 30; the *visarga* is denoted by two hook-shaped lines The **language** is Sanskrit, and the text is wholly in prose As regards **orthography,** we may note the use of the vowel *ri* for *ri* as in *-pautrinah*, line 16, of *n* for *n* and *vice versa* as in *kārunya-*, line 12 and *mano-*, line 13, and of the guttural and dental nasals for the *anusvāra* in *vanśa-* in lines 8, 24 etc and *ansa* in line 6

As stated before, the plates were intended to be issued by the Vākātaka *Mahārāja* Prithivīshēna II His genealogy up to Pravarasēna II occurs as in the latter’s Jāmb plates, with the omission, evidently through inadvertence of the writer[2], of a long expression in line 10 Of Pravarasēna II the present grant gives the additional description which is noticed only in his Siwanī grant that he followed the path laid down by his predecessors and that by his good policy, strength and valour he exterminated all his enemies. Pravarasēna II’s son was **Narēndrasēna,** who is said to have taken away the family’s fortune by means of confidence

---

[1] *Ep Ind*, Vol. IX, p 267.

[2] Jayaswal tried to make much capital out of this mistake and thought that Rudrasēna I was described here as a Bhāraśiva *Mahārāja* as he had succeeded as a Bharaśiva *dauhitra* See his *History of India*, etc , p 32. He does not, however, explain why this description occurs only in such a late grant.

in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him We are further told that his commands were honoured by the lords of **Kōsalā, Mēkalā** and **Mālava.** His son, from the queen **Ajjhitabhattārikā,** the daughter of the **king** of **Kuntala,** was *Mahārāja* **Prithivishēṇa II,** who was a devout worshipper of the Bhagavat (Vishnu) The present plates were intended to be issued by him from his camp at **Vēmbāra** which is mentioned in the beginning, but of his order only the word *sarvvādhyaksha-* was actually written The **unfinished nature** of the present charter is also indicated by the absence of the word *drishtam* 'seen', which almost invariably occurs as a mark of authorisation in all complete charters of the Vākātakas

As the inscription was not completed, there is no mention of the regnal date or of the writer and the *Dūtaka*

The place **Vēmbāra** from which the charter was intended to be issued remained unidentified for a long time In my article on the Durg plate I suggested its identification with Bēmbāl, about 28 miles to the east of Chāndā and 2 miles to the west of the Waingangā[1]

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 [3]वेम्बारवासकादग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्य-
2 षोडश्यतिरात्रवाजपेयबृहस्पतिसवसाद्य-
3 स्क्रचतुरश्वमेधयाजिन[ ] विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्र-
4 स्य सम्राट्(जो) वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रि(श्री)प्रवरसे-
5 नस्य [सू]नोस्सूनो अत्यन्तस्वामिमहा-
6 भैरवभक्तस्य ।[4] अन्स[5]भारसण्णि(न्नि)वेशितशिव-
7 लिङ्गोद्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादित-
8 राजवङशाना[6]म्पराक्रमाधिगतभागिरत्थ्यामल[7]-
9 जलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधाव-

Second Plate First Side

10 भृथस्नातानाम्भारशिवानाम्म[8]हाराजश्रि(श्री)रुद्रसे-
11 नस्य सूनो अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्यार्ज्जव-
12 कारुन्य(ण्य)शौर्य्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहा-
13 त्म्यधिमत्व[9]पात्रगतभक्तित्वधर्म्मा(र्म्म)विजयित्वमणो(नो)-
14 नैर्म्मा(र्म्म)ल्यादिर्गु(गु)णसमुदितस्य वर्प्ष(र्ष)शत-
15 मभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्र-
16 पौतृ(त्रि)ण युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्व्वा[10]काटकानाम्महा-

[1] See *Ep Ind*, Vol XXII, p 210, n 6

[2] From facsimiles facing pp 270 and 271 in *ibid* Vol IX

[3] There is empty space for three *aksharas* here Several other grants of the Vākāṭakas open with *drishṭam*

[4] This mark of punctuation is superfluous

[5] Read अस-.

[6] Read वशाना-

[7] Read भागीरत्थ्यमल-

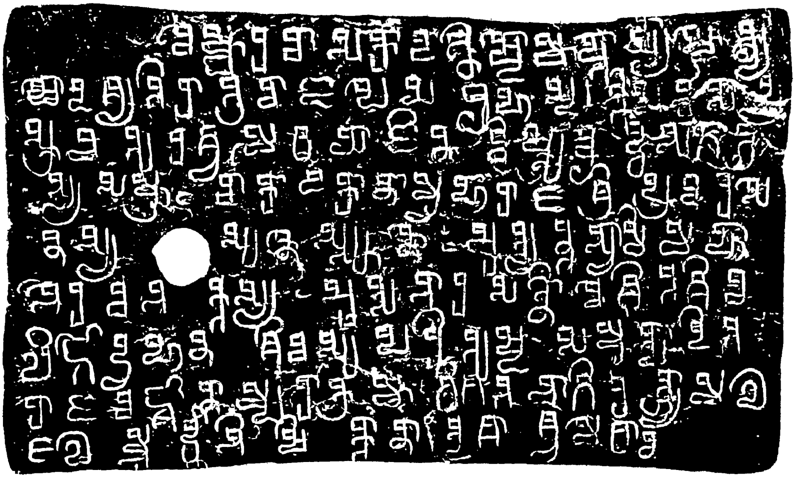
[8] There is a redundant *visarga* between ना and म्म Here the words महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानाम् have been omitted through inadvertence.

[9] Read धीमत्त्व-

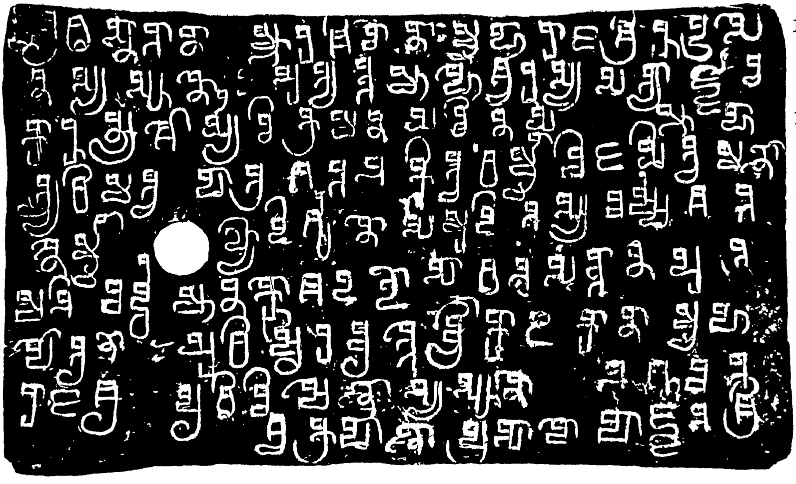
[10] Originally व्वि changed to र्व्वा

BĀLĀGHĀT PLATES OF PRITHIVĪSHĒNA II

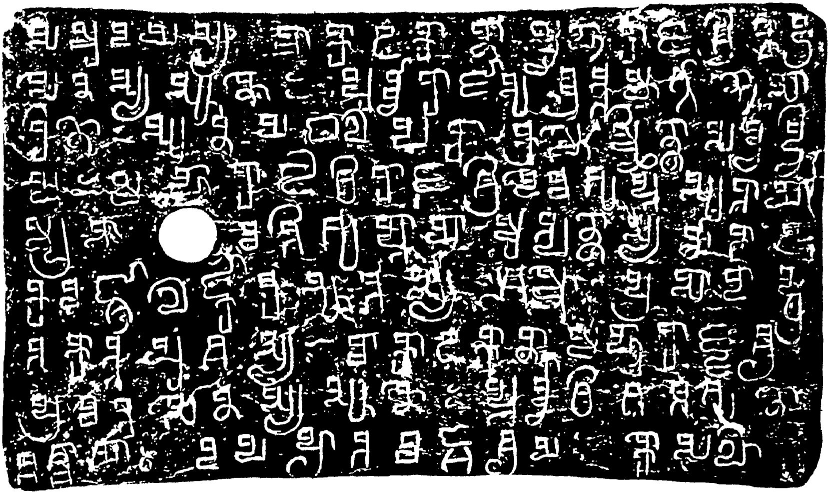
i



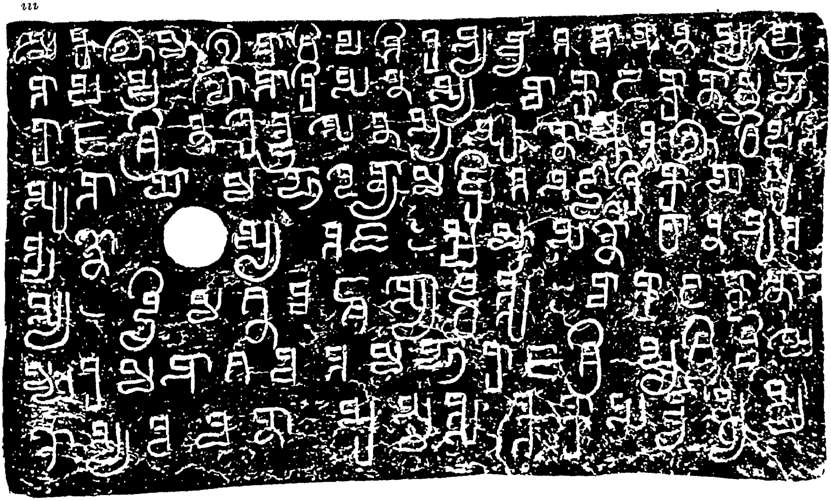
ii,a



ii,b



iii



17 राज[श्रि](श्री)पृथिविषेणस्य सूनो[*] भगवत-
18 श्चक्रपाणे[*] प्रसादोपार्ज्जितश्रि(श्री)-

Second Plate: Second Side

19 समुदयस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रि(श्री)रुद्र-
20 सेनस्य सूनो [1]पूर्व्वराजानुवृत्तमाग्गा(र्ग्गा)णु(नु)सा-
21 रिण सुनयबलपराक्रमोच्छि(च्छि)ण्ण(न्न)सर्व्वद्वि-
22 ष महाराजाधिराजश्रि(श्री)देवगुप्तसुताया-
23 म्प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पण्ण(न्न)स्य वाकाट-
24 कवङशा(वंशा)लङ्कारभूतस्य शम्भोःप्रसादाद्ध्र(द्धृ)-
25 तकार्त्तयुगस्य[2] वाकाटकानाम्महाराज(ज)श्र(श्री)-
26 प्रवरसेनस्य सूनो पूर्व्वाधिगतगुण-
27 विश्वा[सा?][3]दपहृतङशा[4]श्र(श्रि)य कोसला-

Third Plate

28 मेकलामालवाधिपति[भि*]रभ्यर्च्चितशासनस्य प्र-
29 तापप्रलातारिसनस्य[5] वाकाटकानाम्महा-
30 राजश्रि(श्री)नरेन्द्रसेनस्य सूनोऽकुन्तलाधिपति-
31 सुताया(या) महादेव्यामज्झितभट्टारिकायामु-
32 त्पण्ण(न्न)स्य त(ते)ज क्षमासन्निधानभु(भू)त-
33 स्य ।[6] द्विमग्नवङश[7]स्योद्धर्त्तु वाकाटकाना-
34 म्परमभागवतमहाराजश्रि(श्री)पृथिवि(वी)षे-
35 णस्य वचना[त्*] अस्मत्सन्तका[*] सर्व्वाद्धयक्ष-

TRANSLATION

[8]From the camp fixed at **Vēmbāra**–

By the order of the illustrious **Prithivīshena (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākāṭakas;** who is a devout worshipper of the Bhagavat (Vishnu), who has rescued his sunken family; who is the abode of valour and forgiveness, who was born of the *Mahādēvī* **Ajjhitabhattārikā,** the daughter of the lord of **Kuntala;** who is the son of the illustrious **Narēndrasēna,** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākāṭakas,** who held in check enemies bowed down by his valour, whose commands were honoured by the lords of **Kōsalā, Mekalā,** and **Mālava;** who, from confidence in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away the (*royal*) fortune of (*his*) family; who was the son of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II),** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**

(*For translation of lines* 1 -25, *see above, pp* 13-14)

(Line 35) Our [officers of noble birth] appointed by the *Sarvādhyaksha* (General Superintendent)

(*The subsequent portion of the grant was not inscribed*)

---

[1] This and the following expression descriptive of Pravarasēna II occur only in the latter's Siwanī plates.
[2] There is an incomplete sign of a redundant initial *i* engraved here
[3] There is a redundant म् incised here
[4] Read वंश-
[5] Read प्रणतारिशासनस्य
[6] This mark of punctuation is superfluous
[7] Perhaps निमग्नवंशस्य was intended
[8] There is here empty space for three *aksharas* such as *drishtam* which generally occur in the beginning of a completed Vākātaka copper-plate inscription

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE FEUDATORIES OF THE MAIN BRANCH

No 19 Plate XIX

BAMHANĪ PLATES OF BHARATABALA

THESE plates were discovered at the village **Bamhanī** in the Sohāgpur *tahsil* of the former Rēwā State Dr. B Ch Chhabra published first a short note on it in the *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, Part I, pp 215 ff and later edited them with facsimiles and a translation in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXVII, pp 132 ff I discussed the historical information furnished by these plates in an article entitled 'The Pāndava Dynasty of Mēkalā', published in the *Indica* (Indian Historical Research Institute Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume), pp 268 f The plates are edited here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr Chhabra's article in the *Epigraphia Indica*

'The **plates** are three in number, each measuring roughly $7\frac{3}{4}''$ broad by $4\frac{1}{2}''$ high They are strung on a copper ring, about $\frac{1}{4}''$ in thickness, passing through a hole, $\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter cut in the centre of each plate near the margin The ring must originally have been circular in shape, but in its present condition it is bent and elongated Its ends are secured under a comparatively small **seal** with a diameter of $\frac{3}{4}''$ The seal bears no emblem or legend, if there was any originally, it has now completely disappeared The inscription on the plate is in an excellent state of preservation throughout The first and third plates are engraved only on one side, while the second bears writing on both the sides. There are altogether 49 lines of writing, twelve being inscribed on the first face, thirteen on each side of the second plate, and eleven on the last All the plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 94 *tōlās*' [1]

The **characters** are of the nail-headed variety of the southern alphabets. They resemble in some respects those of the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, which also are of the same nail-headed variety, but, unlike the latter, they do not contain any admixture of the northern letters The following peculiarities may be noted —The initial *i* (short) consists of an indented curve over two dots placed horizontally, see *iti*, line 3, in medial *ī* (long) the length is indicated in all places by means of a dot in the curve denoting short *i* as in *āsīd-*, line 1, the forms of initial *ē* and *au* which occur in lines 25 and 16 respectively are noteworthy, *j* has a slight notch in its top stroke as in *Jayabala*, line 3 In the case of *m*, we notice a box-head instead of a nail-head, see *su-vimala-*, line 1 The **numerical symbol** for 2 is also noteworthy, for it does not consist of two curves placed one above the other, but has the same form as in modern Nāgarī The **language** is Sanskrit, the record being partly in prose and partly in verse As regards **orthography,** we may notice the use of the *anusvāra* for final *n* as in *śrīmām*, line 2; the reduplication of the consonant preceding and following *r* as in *puttro*, *sarvva-*, line 3, the use of the guttural nasal in place of the *anusvāra* in *vaṅśē*, line 41, the use of *v* for *b* in some places as in *-vabhuva*, line 8; and the use of *ri* for the vowel *ṛi* in *vyākrishya*, line 22 There are, besides, several mistakes in the writing of the record which have been corrected in the transcript and the foot-notes appended to it.

[1] *Ep. Ind*, Vol XXVII, p 132

The inscription is one of *Mahārāja* **Bharata** or **Bharatabala** of the **Pāndava lineage,** who ruled over the country of **Mēkalā.** The **object** of it is to record the grant of the village **Vardhamānaka** situated in the **Pañchagartā-vishaya** in the **Uttara-rāshtra** (Northern Division) of **Mēkalā** to the Brāhmana **Lōhitasarasāvmin** of the Vatsa *gōtra* and the Mādhyandina *śākhā* The charter was written by **Śiva** the son of the *Rāhasika* **Īśāna,** and was engraved by **Mihiraka,** the son of the goldsmith **Īśvara.** It is dated in the regnal **year 2,** on the **thirteenth tithi** of the **dark fortnight** of the month **Bhādrapada,** the *nakshatra* being **Pushya.**

The plates give the following genealogy of the donor —

Jayabala
|
Vatsarāja *m* **Drōnabhattārikā**
|
Mahārāja **Nāgabala** *m* **Indrabhattārikā**
|
Mahārāja **Bharatabala** *alias* **Indra** *m* **Lōkaprakāśā.**

The inscription does not mention any royal title in connection with the names of the first two kings, probably because their description is given in verse The next two kings **Nāgabala** and **Bharatabala** are first described in a prose passage and later eulogised in one or more verses They are both styled as *Mahārāja* and described as devout worshippers of Mahēśvara, great patrons of the Brāhmanas and as *Paramagurudēvatādhidaivatavishēsha* which has been taken to mean ' distinguished as a highly venerable personage, a deity and a supreme divinity ' This last epithet which signifies the divine nature of the kings is not noticed in the inscriptions of even Gupta and Vākātaka kings A similar epithet, *viz*, *Paramadēvatādhidaivata* occurs, however, in the Soro and Patiākellā plates as shown by Dr Chhabra

From verse 5 it appears that **Bharata** or **Bharatabala** was also known by the name of **Indra.** This is also confirmed by his comparison with Indra, the lord of gods, in verses 6 and 8 Bharatabala married **Lōkaprakāśā** who is described as born in a family descended from gods and as a princess of **Kōsalā.** Dr Chhabra's view that she might be a princess of the Pāndava family of Kosalā cannot be accepted, for, supposing that there was a Pāndava family ruling over Southern Kōsala in this period it must have been regarded as *sagōtra,* if not *samānōdaka,* of the family ruling over the country of Mēkalā Hindu Dharmaśāstra does not allow marriages between *samānōdakas* and *sagōtras* Lōkaprakāśā probably belonged to the family descended from Śūra From the Ārang plates[1] dated in the Gupta year 182 (501-02 A C) we learn that this family was ruling in Kōsalā (Chhattisgadh) for at least five generations before Bhīmasēna I who was reigning at the time The five ancestors were Śūra, Dayita (or Dayitavarman I), Bibhīshana, Bhīmasēna I and Dayitavarman II Lōkaprakāśā, who married Bharatabala was probably a daughter of Bhīmasēna I of Dakshina Kōsala

As stated before, this dynasty of Mēkalā traced its descent from the **Pāndavas** of epic fame In verse 11 which seems to have a double meaning, the family is called *saumya,* *i e*, descended from Sōma or the Moon The Pāndavas of the *Mahābhārata* are known to have belonged to the lunar race

As pointed out by Dr Chhabra, Verse 11 seems to describe not only the king (*narēndra*) Bharatabala, but also his suzerain **Narēndra** *i e*, the *Vākātaka* king **Narēndrasēna.**[2] From

---

[1] *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, pp 342 f The date of this plate is G 182 not 282 as read by the editor. *Ibid*, Vol XXVI, p 228

[2] For a similar instance, see the Surat plates of Śryāśraya Śīlāditva, which describe the Chālukya Emperor Vinayāditya, the Suzerain of Śryāśraya Śīlāditva

the Bālāghāt plates we know that the commands of Narēndrasēna were honoured by the rulers of Kōsalā, Mēkalā and Mālava. This is usually taken to mean that the rulers of these countries acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vākāṭaka king In the Ārang plates of Bhīmasēna II we have, however, no indication that any of his predecessors were the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas Like these rulers of Kōsalā, Bharatabala also makes no clear reference to his overlord, but he may have covertly alluded to him in the verse in question [1]

Among the officers to whom the royal order is addressed are mentioned the *Grāmakūṭa*, *Drōṇāgrakanāyaka*, *Dēvavārika* and *Gaṇḍaka* Except *Grāmakūṭa*, these names are not known to occur elsewhere The *Grāmakūṭa* was, of course, the head of the village The *Drōṇāgrakanāyaka* was evidently the chief of the Drōṇāgraka which seems to be the same as *Drōṇamukha* mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* Kauṭilya lays down that there should be a *Drōṇamukha* in the midst of four hundred villages [2] The *Droṇāgrakanāyaka* was probably the head of this principal village Dr Chhabra takes *Dēvavārika* in the sense of 'a superintendent of temples and holy places' Perhaps *Dēvavārika* is a mistake for *Dauvārika*, in which case it may mean the same as *Pratīhāra* The *Śukranītisāra* mentions the *Pratīhāra* as the head of the town or village police.[3] The *Gaṇḍaka* has been taken in the sense of 'a warrior', but may signify the same as *bhaṭa* or 'a soldier' These officers and government servants are concerned with the collection of revenue and the maintenance of peace and order and have therefore to be informed of every gift or transfer of landed property

The **localities** mentioned in the present grant have already been identified by Dr Chhabra **Mēkalā** is the name of the country comprising Amarakantak and the surrounding region The Narmadā, which takes its rise in the Amarakantak hill, is called *Mēkala-kanyakā.* **Vardhamānaka** is, of course, Bamhanī where the plates were found **Pañchagartā** probably means a valley of five rivers It is noteworthy that in the vicinity of Bamhanī there are five rivulets at a short distance from one another, which later on join the Śona There is also a village named Pāchgaon, about three miles south of Sahdōl, which probably represents the headquarters of the Pañchagartā *vishaya*

TEXT[4]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[5][।*] स्वस्ति [6][।*] आसीद्य पाण्डवाना सुविमलयशसामन्वये भूरिधाम्ना(म्ना) रा
2 जाभूत्मे(न्मे)कलाया क्षितिपतितिलक सप्रसूतोरुकीर्त्ति(र्त्ति) [।*] श्रीमा(मान्) श्रीस-
3 विधा[ता*] जयबल इति य ख्याप्यते स्वैर्य्यशोभि लोकेस्मि(स्मिन्) सर्व्वदे(दै)[व*]
4 प्रवरगुणगणालङ्कृतश्चार(रु)मूर्त्ती(र्त्ति) [7] [॥१॥*] तस्याहवाहृतजय प्रथि[तो दया-*]
5 वा(वान्) वत्सेश्वर प्रतिसमो (वत्सेश्वरप्रतिसमो) गुणवान्विधिज्ञ [।*] पुत्रोभवद्रिपुग्रहोप-[8]
6 वनानि येन वन्यैर्मृगै प्रचुरतामुपपादितानि[9]॥ [२॥*] महानुभाव[*]

[1] Dr Chhabra has drawn attention to an analogous instance in the Ghumli plates in which the Saindhava Chiefs Krishnarāja II and his brother Jāika I refer to their sovereign, the Pratīhāra Emperor Rāmabhadra, in a covert manner

[2] *Arthaśāstra* (second ed by Shama Sastri), p 46 Dronamukha is explained by Jain commentators as a town approachable by a road as well as a water-way

[3] *Śukranītisāra*, II, 120-21, 170-75

[4] From the facsimiles facing pp 140-41 in *Ep Ind*, Vol XXVII.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] This *visarga* is superfluous

[7] Metre *Sragdharā*

[8] Read गृहो-.

[9] Metre *Vasantatilakā*

7 सुकृतप्रशन्सि (सी) गुणान्तरज्ञ पुरुषोपभोग्य [।*] सद्धर्म्मशीलो (ल) सुनय[प्र]-
8 धान श्रीवत्सराज (जो) नृपतिर्ब्व (र्ब्ब) भूव[1] ।। [३।।*] तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यात प-
9 रममाहेश्वर परमब्रह्मण्य परमगुरुदेवताधिदैवतविशेष[*]
10 श्रीमा[2] श्रीमत्या देव्या द्रोणभट्टारिकायामुत्पन्न श्रीमहाराजना-
11 गबल [।*] तुरगखुरनिपातक्षुण्णमार्गा धरित्रि (त्री) मलिनयति दिगन्ता (न्तान्)
12 पा (पा) सुरूक्षाकुलान्ता (न्तान्) [।*] मदमलिनकपोला वारणा यस्य

Second Plate First Side

13 य (या) त प्रशममुपनयन्ते शीकरार्द्रा (र्द्रान्)[3] क्षणेन[4] ।।[४।।*] ततस्तस्य पुत्त्रस्तत्पादा-
14 नुध्यात परममाहेश्वर परब्रम (ह्म) ण्य परमगुरुदेवताधिदैवत-
15 विशेष श्रीमत्या देव्यामिन्द्रभट्टारिकायाम (मु) त्पन्न श्रीमहाराजभरत[*]
16 इन्द्रो दयाशीलगुणान्विताया औदार्य्यचातुर्य्यसम (म) न्विताया[।*] पु-
17 त्त्र [*] प्रसृतोमलचारुकान्ति शैलेन्द्रपुत्र्या इव कार्त्तिकेय[5] [।।५।।*] इन्द्रो दा-
18 रणिसभवेथ हुतभुक्तत्तेजोज्वल[6] स्नेहवात्सद्वृत्तस्थितिविप्रमन्द्र[7]-
19 विधृतप्र (प्रा) प्तप्रमाणोन्नति[*]। दृष्ट साधुसुखोदयाय हि नृणा ध-
20 म्मार्थिसपादक वेद्यामध्वरसस्थिते वसुहुत पूज्य सता सर्व्व-
21 दा[8] [।।६।।*] येनोत्तुङ्गरिपुद्रुमैरविरलैर्भ्भ (र्भ्भ) ग्नै समस्ता दिशच्छ (श्छ) न्ना दिध्व (ग्व) र-
22 दन्तिनेव गुरुणा व्याक्रि (कृ) ष्य विस्फूर्ज्जिता (तै)। यस्यैव (व) विधचेष्ट (ष्टि) तस्य नृ-
23 पते कृत्स्ने महीमण्डल (ले) सौराज्यश्री (श्रि) यमादधातु[9] विपुला धम्मार्थिकाम-
24 प्रदा[10] [।।७।।*] श्रीभरत क्षितिनाथ क्षितिपतितिलक सुरेन्द्रसमवि (वी) र्य्य
25 विनिहतरिपुगणलक्ष्मि (क्ष्मी) दधार य सशृ (श्रि) ता स्वभुजो (जे)[11] [।।८।।*] एकैव[12]

Second Plate Second Side

26 स्फटिकविमलशुभ्र वि (बि) भ्रति (ती) शीलतोयन[13]। यमनियतु (म) तटान्तप्रान्तशु-
27 द्धप्रवाह (हम्) [।*] प्रशमगुणगणोमिया (र्मिर्या) जन पावयन्ति (यन्ती) स्वयमिह सुर-
28 लोकादागता जाह्नवीव[14] ।।[९।।*] श्रीमच्चान्द्रा (न्द्रा) शुकि (की) र्तेर्भरतव (ब) लनृपस्योत्तम-
(मा) र (रा) ज-
29 पत्नि (त्नी)।[15] जाता य (या) कौ (को) सलायाममरजकुलजा किति (कीर्त्ति) म (मु) च्चैर्दधाता-
(ना) ।। (।) शश्वद्धर्माए (र्थ)-
30 कार (म) प्रतिविहिततमातीव[16] लोकप्रकाशा याता र (पौ) त्रै प्रपौत्रैर्न[य] विनयर-

---

1 Metre *Upajāti*

2 Read श्रीमान्

3 It seems better to construe this adjective with दिगन्तान् than with मही as Chhabra does

4 Metre *Mālinī*

5 Metre *Indravajrā*

6 Read हुतभुक्तेजोज्ज्वल

7 Read स्नेहवान्सद्वृत्तस्थितिविप्रमन्त्र-

8 Metre *Śārdulavikrīdita*

9 Chhabra suggests the emendations चेष्टित स for चेष्टतस्य, नृपति for नृपते and आदधाति for आदधातु I would rather keep these words unchanged and suggest विपुला for विपुला and धर्म्मार्थकामप्रदा for धम्मार्थिकामप्रदा The construction then would be यस्य कृत्स्ने मण्डले धर्म्मार्थकामप्रदा मही विपुला सौराज्यश्रियमादधातु।

10 Metre *Śārdūlavikrīdita*

11 Metre *Aryā*

12 The words एकैव are not connected with the following verse Construe them with भरतबलस्य राजपत्नी in v. 10

13 Read तोयम् The following mark of punctuation is superfluous

14 Metre· *Mālinī*

15 This mark of punctuation is superfluous

16 There is a wrong *sandhi* here प्रतिविहिततमा and अतीव Dissolve शश्वद्धर्म्मार्थकामप्रतिविहिततमा as follows - शश्वद्धर्म्मार्थकामै प्रतिविहित तम यया सा Thus dissolved, the compound makes the queen's name

31 तै राजसि (सि) घै (है) प्रतिप्ठा [म्*] [1]।। [१०।।*] योसौ सपूर्णशवितत्रयविनिपतितानेकसामन्त-
32 मूर्द्धप्रोद्घृष्टोत्फुल्लपपर्दति[2] चलनय (यु) गाक्रान्तदिक्र (क्च) क्रवाल [।*] सौम्य सो-
33 यण्य (त्र्च) वश प्रभव इति जने कीर्त्यते (र्त्यते) यस्य चोच्चै स श्रीमा (मान्) सवभुवास्र-
34 तिय[3]गुणा (ण) गणो दि (दी) र्णवैरो नरेन्द्र [।।११।।*] तत मेकलाय (या) उत्तररा[ष्ट्रे]पा[ञ्च][4]ग-
35 त्तविषये वर्द्धमानके ।[5] ग्रामकूटद्रोणाग्रकनायकदेववारिकगण्डक-
36 प्रमुखा (खान्) सवा (र्वा) नेव यथाप्रतिवासिन समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु
37 महैयपादै[6]रय ग्रासा (म) साद्र[गा][7] सोपरिकर अचाटभटप्रवेशी (श्य) सनि-
38 धि सोपनिधि [8]श्वो (श्चो) रदण्डवर्जत[9] चतु सि (सी) मापर्य्यन्त आचन्द्रार्कक्षित (ति)-

Third Plate

39 तारकानिरोधेन मात (ता) पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृध (द्ध) ये वत्ससगोत्रश्रीमा-
40 द्धिच (द्धच) न्दिनलोहितसरस्व (स्वा) मिन (ने) प्रतिपादिते (तइ) त्यवगम्य यथोचितभागभो-
41 गेनाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भवितव्यमिति[।*] स्वयमाज्ञापना[।*] ये चास्मद्वड्शे[10] समुत्प-
42 द्यन्ते राजान [11]स्तैरपीय दत्तिरनुमोदनीयानुपालनीया च[।*]य [12]श्चैमा (ता) दत्ति (त्ति) विलोपमा-
43 प (पा) दयिष्यति स पञ्चभिर्महा[पा*तकै सयुवत[*]स्य (स्या) दिति[।*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुवता राज-
44 भिस्सागरादिभि [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल (लम्)[13] [।।१२।।] षष्टि वर्षस-
45 हस्राणि स्वर्ग (र्गे) मोदति भूमिद[।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [।।१३।।*]स्व-
46 दत्ता (त्ता) परदत्ता (त्ता) बा (वा) यत्नाद्रक्ष नराध (धि) प[।*] मही (ही) महिमता श्रेष्ठ
दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन[म्*] [।।१४।।*]
47 समाप्त चेद शासन (नम्) [।।*] प्रवर्द्धमान ।[14] विजयराज्यसवत्सरे २ भ (भा) द्रपदकृष्णत्र-
48 योदश्या पुष्यनक्षत्रेण [।*] लिखित[15]ञ्चेद शासन राहसिकेशानपुत्रेण शिवेनो-
49 त्कीर्णञ्च सुवर्णकारेश्वरपुत्रेण मिहिरकेने (णे) ति ।।

TRANSLATION[16]

Success! Hail!

(Verse 1) There was in the lineage of the **Pāndavas** of extremely spotless glory and abundant lustre, a king of **Mēkalā**, who acquired wide fame and became foremost among the lords of the earth—who, by his own glorious deeds, has, for all time, become renowned in this world by the name of **Jayabala**, a disposer of Fortune, who had a charming form and was adorned with a multitude of excellent qualities

(V 2) He had a son, who resembled the lord of Vatsa[17] (*i e* Udayana), who attained victories in battles, who was famous, compassionate, endowed with virtues and conversant

---

[1] Metre of this and the next verse *Sragdharā*

[2] Chhabra ingeniously suggests the reading पद्मद्युति in place of पपर्दति

[3] Read सार्वभौमप्रथित- as suggested by Chhabra

[4] This *akshara* appears more like ण्ड than like ञ्च However, I have adopted Chhabra's reading

[5] This sign of punctuation is superfluous

[6] Perhaps मदीयपादै is intended, though it would look queer in the donor's mouth

[7] Read सोद्रङ्ग-

[8] This *visarga* is superfluous

[9] Read चोरदण्डवर्जम् This expression should precede अचाटभटप्रवेशी (श्य)

[10] Read -द्वशे

[11] This *visarga* is superfluous

[12] This *visarga* is also superfluous

[13] Metre of this and the following two verses *Anushtubh.*

[14] This sign of punctuation is superfluous

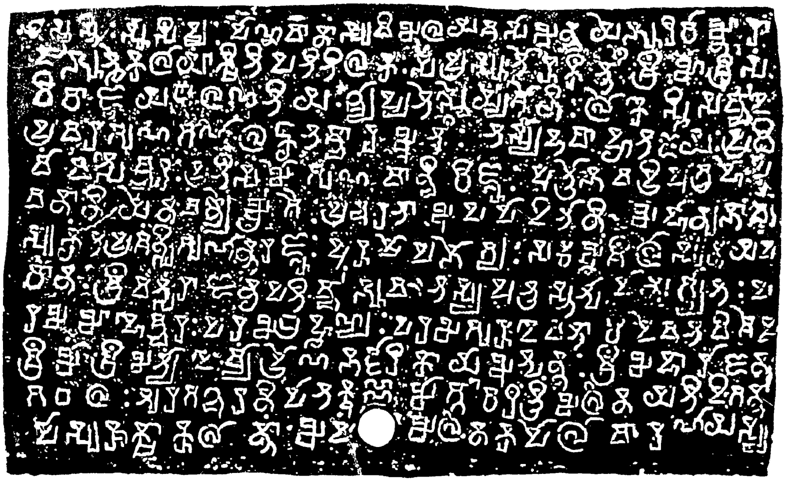
[15] This *anusvāra* is superfluous

[16] In this I have derived some help from Dr Chhabra's translation of this record

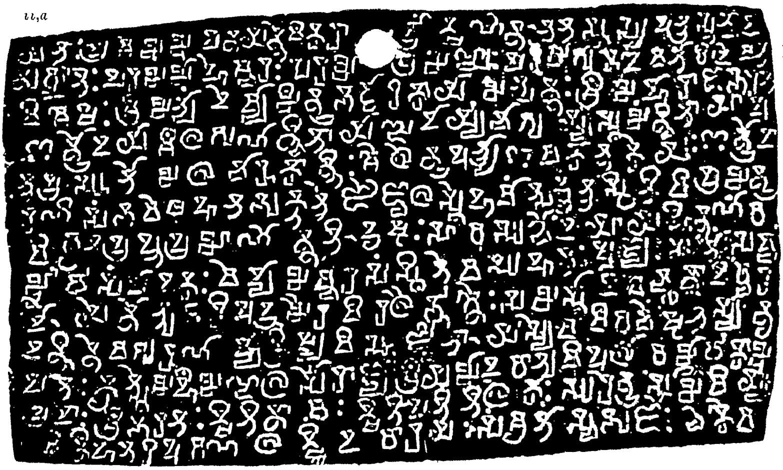
[17] This is according to the proposed emendation *Vatsēśvara-pratisamō* If the text is to be interpreted as it stands, Vatsēśvara will be the same as Vatsarāja mentioned in the next verse

BAMHANĪ PLATES OF BHARATABALA

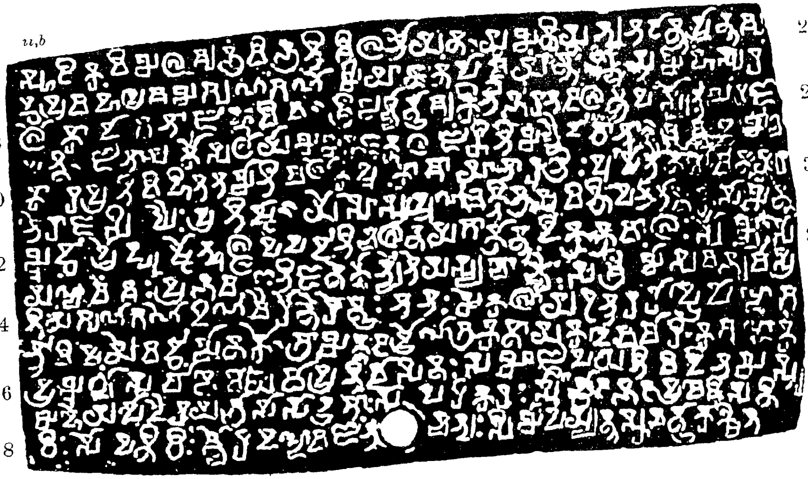
i



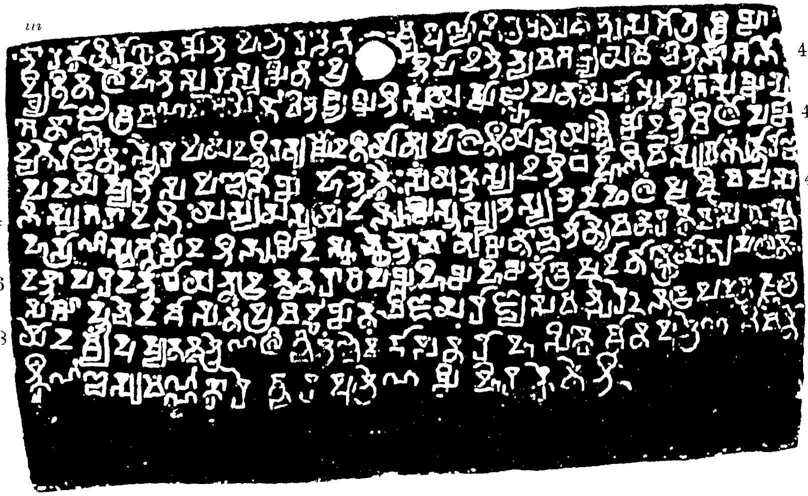
ii,a



ii,b



iii



with religious rites, (*and*) who made the gardens of the houses of his enemies crowded with wild beasts.[1]

(V 3) There was the king, the illustrious **Vatsarāja,** who was magnanimous, who extolled the good deeds (*of others*), who could differentiate between merits and was obliging to (*his*) people, righteous and devoted to good policy

(Line 8) His son was the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Nāgabala,** born of the illustrious (*queen*) **Drōṇabhattārikā,** who meditated on his feet, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and a great patron of the Brāhmanas, who was (*regarded* as) the most revered teacher, a deity and the supreme divinity and was possessed of royal fortune

(V 4) As he marched along, the earth, the paths on which were pounded by the hoofs of (*his*) horses, obscured the quarters, their farthest regions becoming dry and disturbed by dust, (*but*) his elephants, whose temples were soiled with the rutting juice, immediately restored order to them, making them wet with the spray (*of their rut*)

(Line 13) Then there is his son, the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Bharata,** born of the illustrious queen **Indrabhattārikā,** who meditates on his feet, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and a great patron of the Brāhmanas, (*and*) who (*is regarded as*) the most revered teacher, a deity and the supreme divinity

(V 5) From her who was endowed with the qualities of compassion and good nature as also with generosity and wisdom, there was born the son (*known as*) **Indra** possessed of a spotless and lovely lustre, even as Kārttikēya was born from (Pārvatī) the daughter of the lord of mountains

(V 6) He is (*the god*) Indra in the destruction (*of his enemies*) and (*the god*) Fire brilliant with lustre, he is amiable and steadfast in his adherence to good behaviour, he has attained authority and eminence in consequence of the (*sacred*) *mantras* recited by the Brāhmanas, his appearance makes good persons happy and leads to attainment, by the people, of religious merit and prosperity, he is always honoured by good persons with presents of wealth even as sacrificial fire kindled on the altar is with offerings (*of ghee etc*)

(V 7) He, the powerful one, who has covered all regions with (*the dead bodies of*) the multitude of the mighty and roaring enemies whom he has forcibly overthrown even as an excellent quarter-elephant does with the lofty, thickly growing and resounding trees which it uproots May the Earth, who yields (*the three objects of*) religious merit, wealth and enjoyment, produce abundant prosperity due to good government throughout the entire dominion of this king who thus exerts himself[2]!

(V 8) The illustrious king **Bharata,** the foremost among the lords of the earth, resembles (Indra) the lord of gods, in valour—(*he*) who has given shelter to the Fortune of the multitude of foes slain by him, when she resorted to his arm

The matchless one -

(V 9) who is, as it were, the Gangā herself, descended here from the world of gods, sanctifying the peoples—(*she*) who has character, bright and spotless like crystal, which is purified by restraints and vows even as the Gangā has a pure stream of crystal-like white and clear water, which flows within its banks, (*and*) who is endowed with a multitude of tranquility and other virtues just as the Gangā has its waves of water,

(V 10) who, (*named*) **Lōkaprakāśā,** has become the best royal consort of the king Bharatabala, whose fame is (*lovely*) like the moon-beams, who, being born in a family of the

---

[1] He made the palaces of his enemies desolate

[2] For the construction see above, p. 85, n. 3.

gods, has become highly renowned, who, by her constant pursuit of (*the three purushārthas of*) religious merit, prosperity and happiness, has dispelled the darkness of ignorance (*and*) has become extremely resplendent in the world[1], (*and*) who has attained an eminent status with her sons and grandsons, who, lion-like princes as they are, are devoted to justice and discipline.

(V 11) That illustrious king[2], the sovereign, who is endowed with a multitude of excellences, who has destroyed his enemies, whose pair of feet, having the grace of full-blown lotuses, and rubbed by the heads of several feudatory princes subdued by his perfect triad of powers, has overcome all regions and whose birth is highly extolled by the people as being in the famous Lunar rate—

(Line 34) [*He*] issues the following order to all residents concerned headed by (*the officials, viz*) the *Grāmakūta*, the Chief of the *Drōnāgraka*, the *Devavārika* and the *Gandakas* in (*the village*) **Vardhamānaka** in the *vishaya* of **Pañchagartā** (*included*) in the **Uttara-rāshtra** (Northern Division) of **Mēkalā**—

(Line 36) " Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit of Our father and mother and of Ourself, We have donated this village extending to its four boundaries,—together with *udranga* and *uparikara*[4], together with treasures and deposits, and (*with the privilege that it is*) not to be entered by (*Our*) soldiers and policemen except for punishing thieves,—to the illustrious **Lōhitasarasvāmin** of the Vatsa *gōtra* and the Mādhyandina *śākhā*, (*to be enjoyed by him and his successors*) as long as the moon, the sun, the earth and the stars will endure

Knowing this, you should obey his orders and offer him the *bhāga* and *bhōga* according to custom."

This command has been given by Me personally And those kings also who will be born in Our family should consent to and maintain this gift And whosoever will cause obstruction in (*the enjoyment of*) this grant, will incur (*the guilt of*) the five great sins

(*Here occur three benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(Line 47) This charter is concluded In the **year 2** of the increasingly victorious reign, on the **thirteenth** (*lunar day*) of the **dark** (*fortnight*) of **Bhādrapada,** the **nakshatra** being **Pushya.**

This charter has been written by **Śiva,** son of the *Rāhasika* **Iśana** and engraved by **Mihiraka,** son of the goldsmith **Īśvara.**

---

[1] There is obviously a pun on her name *Lōkaprakāśā*

[2] There is a pun on the word *narendra* which means here (i) a king (viz Bharatabala) and the Vākāṭaka king Narēndrasēna The transalation given above is with reference to the first meaning In the second, *saumya vamśa* will have to be taken in the sense of 'a family of gentle nature,' The Vākātakas were Brāhmanas by caste Hence their family is described here as gentle by nature.

[3] For these officials, see above, p 84

[4] *Udranga* and *uparikara* correspond to the *bhāga* and *bhōga* mentioned below in line 40 *Udranga* was probably a land-tax while *uparikara* signified some miscellaneous taxes in kind such as are mentioned in the MSM., Ch. VII, vv. 130-32.

NACHNĒ-KĪ-TALĀĪ STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF VYĀGHRADĒVA

THESE two inscriptions were discovered by General Cunningham in 1883-84 He published his reading of the larger of them, together with facsimiles of both, in his *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol XXI, pp 97 f They were next edited with facsimiles and a translation by Dr Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol III, pp 233 f They are edited here from the same facsimiles

The inscriptions are on a loose **slab** which was found lying on the ground outside the fort of Kuthārā near the village **Nachnē-ki-talāī,** about seven miles north-west of Jasō, the chief town of the former Jasō State, now included in Madhya Pradesh Inscription No 20 is incomplete and is engraved on one of the sides of the slab, while inscription No 21 which is complete is on the face of it The former inscription was left incomplete probably because that side of the stone was found too rough The inscription was therefore commenced again and finished on what is now the front side of the slab

The writing of No 20 covers a space of about 1′ 9¾″ broad by 7½″ high, that of No 21, about 1′ 9″ broad by 1′ 1″ high. In the centre of the larger inscription there is the figure of a wheel which Jayaswal took to be a characteristic symbol of the Vākātakas The **characters** belong to the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets There has been a great difference of opinion about the age of these inscriptions, which, as stated below, refer themselves to the reign of the **Vākāṭaka** *Mahārāja* **Pṛithivīshēna.** Dr Fleet did not examine this question Perhaps there was no need to do so as there was only one Vākātaka king of the name Prithivīshēna known when he edited these records He naturaly assigned them to Prithivīshēna I, mentioned in the grants of Pravarasēna II[1] The Bālāghāt plates which were discovered later have brought to notice another king of that name, *viz*, Prithivīshēna II, who was the fourth lineal descendant of Prithivīshēna I Since then scholars have been sharply divided on the question of the identity of the Prithivīshēna during whose reign the present records were incised Some of them such as Dr Sukthankar[2], Dr Jayaswal[3] and Prof H C Raychaudhuri[4] thought that he was the first king of that name Rao Bahadur K N Dikshit, however, pointed out that the characters of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions were later in date than those of the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīguptā[5] He therefore identified the Prithivīshēna of these inscriptions with Prithivīshēna II of the Bālāghāṭ plates The same opinion has been expressed by Prof Jouveau-Dubreuil[6] and Dr R C Majumdar[7] Recently Dr D C Sircar has reopened the question by pointing out that 'the palaeographical peculiarities of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions are undoubtedly earlier than those of even the Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, a grandson of Pravarasēna I[8]' He has drawn pointed attention to the triangular form of

1 *CII*, Vol III, p 233
2 *Ep Ind*, Vol XVII, p 13
3 *History of India*, etc, p 73
4 *Political History of Ancient India*, p 541
5 *Ep Ind*, Vol XVII, p 362
6 *Ind Ant* Vol LV, pp 103 f
7 *JRASB*, Vol XII, pp 1 f
8 *H.C.I.P*, Vol. III, p 179, n 1.

v and the old forms of *t* and *j* occurring in the present inscriptions He is therefore definitely of the opinion that these inscriptions belong to the reign of Prithivīshēna I In view of this conflict of opinions it is necessary to examine this question rather closely Dr Sircar seems to think that the triangular form of *v* went out of use soon after the time of Prithivīshēna I and so these records cannot be referred to the reign of Prithivīshēna II, when the rectangular form of that letter was in vogue This is not borne out by the inscriptions of the age As a matter of fact, the rectangular form of *v* had come into use even before the time of Prithivīshēṇa I We notice several instances of it in the Ēran stone inscription[1] of Samudragupta; see *kulavadhūh*, line 20, *vichintya*, line 24 etc On the other hand, the triangular form of *v* did not disappear soon after the age of Prithivīshēna I, for we find it used in the Sāñchī inscription[2] of Chandragupta II, dated G 93, see e g *mahāvihārē*, line 1, *sarvva-guna-*, line 8 etc Indeed, it continued in use much longer, for while the inscriptions of the Vākātakas generally use the rectangular *v*, the Pōdāgadh stone inscription of Skandavarman[3] and the Kesaribēdā plates of Arthapati[4] use the triangular form of that letter, see e g *Bhavadattasya*, line 3, and *a-pravēśyam*, line 8 in the former, and *vibhah*, line 1 and *dhruva-*, line 7 in the latter The Nala kings Skandavarman and Arthapati did not flourish earlier than Prithivīshēna II[5] It is noteworthy that all the inscriptions mentioned above are incised in box-headed characters The triangular form of *v* is therefore no indisputable evidence which would compel us to assign the present records to Prithivīshēna I The same can be said of the so-called old forms of *j* and *t*, for these also occur in the Pōdāgadh inscription It is true that the form of *v* in the present inscriptions is more angular than that seen in the other records mentioned above, but angularity is no sure sign of an earlier age As pointed out by Kielhorn,[6] the characters of Pravarasēna II's grants are more angular than those of the Bālāghāt plates of his grandson Prithivīshēna II Besides, it is not unlikely that the writer of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions was influenced by the form of *v* current in that locality We must note in this connection that the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions are the only records in box-headed characters from the Baghēlkhand region. The standard form of characters current in that locality was nail-headed as seen in the Mjhgawām plates[7] of Hastin and the Bamhanī plates[8] of Bharatabala The writer of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions was apparently not quite familiar with the box-headed characters[9] though he wrote the records in them evidently to please the Vākātaka overlord He therefore seems to have unconsciously imitated the form of *v* from the nail-headed alphabet with which he was more familiar We find an analogous instance in the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīguptā The writer of that grant, who probably hailed from North India, was not quite familiar with box-headed characters which were current in Vidarbha He commenced to write in them the legend on the seal, but after writing the first four letters viz. *Vākātaka*, he gave them up and wrote the remaining legend in nail-headed characters The triangular form

---

[1] *C I I*, Vol III, plate facing, p 20

[2] *Ibid*, Vol III, plate facing, p 28

[3] *Ep Ind*, Vol XXI, pp 153 f

[4] *Ibid*, Vol XXVIII, p 12 f

[5] Dr Sircar thinks that the Nala king Skandavarman was a contemporary of the Early Chālukya king Kīrtivarman I (567-97 A C) See *H C I P*, Vol. III, p 189

[6] *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 268

[7] *C I I*, Vol III, pp 106 ff.

[8] No 19, above

[9] As observed by Sukthankar, the letters of these epigraphs are uncouth in appearance.

NACHNĒ-KĪ-TALĀĪ STONE INSCRIPTION (NO I) OF VYĀGHRADĒVA

Scale: about Three-sevenths

Printed at the Survey of India Offices (P. L. O.).

D. C. Sircar.
Reg. No. 3977 E'36—1103 '62.

NACHNĒ-KĪ-TALĀĪ STONE INSCRIPTION (No. II) OF VYĀGHRADĒVA

Scale about Three-sevenths

D. C. Sircar

Printed at the Survey of India Offices P. L. O.

of *v* is therefore no sure sign of the early age of these inscriptions[1] The forms of *j* and *t* also do not preclude the view that **these records belong to the reign of Prithivishena II**[2]

The **language** is Sanskrit and both the inscriptions are in prose As regards **orthography**, the only point that need be noticed is the doubling of *dh* before *y* in *-ānuddhyāta-* in line 2 of No 21

Inscription No 20, which is incomplete, mentions in the first line the name of the **Vākātaka** *Mahārāja* **Prithivīshēna.** The name of his feudatory **Vyaghra** is incompletely incised in line 2 No 21 mentions the names of both and records that Vyāghradēva made something, perhaps a temple, a well or a tank, for the religious merit of his father and mother. The record is not dated, but since it blongs to the reign of Prithivīshena II as shown above, it may be referred to the period 470 to 490 A C Vyāghradēva of the present inscriptions is probably identical with the king Vyāghra of the Uchchhakalpa dynasty who was ruling over the region in the same period The latter's son Jayanātha was ruling in G 174 and G 177[3] His reign may therefore have extended from G 170 to G 190 **Vyāghra**, his father, was therefore probably ruling from *circa* G 150 to G 170 i e from 470 A C to 490 A C **He was thus a contemporary of the Vākātaka king Prithivīshēna II.**

TEXT[4]

No 20

1 वाकाटकाणा (ना) महा[5]राजश्रि (श्री) पृथिवि (वी) षेण-
2 · · [व्या][घ्र?]

No 21

1 वाकाटकाणा (ना) महाराजश्रि (श्री)-
2 पृथिवि (वी) षेणपादा[6]नुद्ध्यतो
3 व्याघ्रदेवो मातापित्रो[ः*] पुन्या (ण्या) र्त्थे
4 कृतमिति[7][।*]

TRANSLATION[8]

Vyāghradēva who meditates on the feet of the illustrious **Prithivīshēna** (**II**), the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, has made (*this*) for the religious merit of (*his*) mother and father

---

1 This form of *v* occurs throughout in the Bamhanī plates of Narēndrasēna s feudatory Bharatabala

2 For the examination of other arguments advanced in support of the view that these inscriptions belong to the reign of Prithivīshēna I, see Introduction, pp xii f, above

3 *C I I*, Vol III, pp 117 and 121 The dates of the Uchchakalpa kings are recorded in the Gupta, not the Kalachuri, era as shown by me in *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIII, pp 171 f

4 From the facsimiles facing page 234 in Fleets *C I I*, Vol III

5 This *akshara* was at first omitted and then written below the line

6 This *akshara* was at first omitted and subsequently written below the line

7 Read कृतवानिति

8 This is a translation of No 21 No. 20 is fragmentary and mentions only Vyāghra and the illustrious Prithivīshēna (II), the *Mahārāja* of the Vākāṭakas

No 22 PLATE XXII

GANJ STONE INSCRIPTION OF VYĀGHRADĒVA

THIS inscription was discovered by Mr R D Banerji in 1919 It was edited for the first time with a facsimile and a translation by Dr V S Sukthankar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XVII, pp 12 ff It is edited here from the same facsimile

The inscription is engraved on a detached **slab** of **stone** which Mr Banerji found lying at the bottom of a *dongā*, adjoining a hill called Maluhā-tongi near **Ganj** in the former Ajayagadh state, now included in Madhya Pradēsh Close by is a ruined stone structure, probably a dam to hold the waters of the stream passing along the dongā The findspot of the present inscription is not far removed from the ruined city of Kuthārā where the Nachnē-kī-talāī inscriptions were discovered[1]

The present inscription is much better preserved than the preceding two records of the same king The writing covers a space 2′ 1″ by 1′ As in the Nachnē-kī-tlaāī inscriptions, there is in the centre of the first line the figure of a wheel The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, resembling closely those of the preceding two records As observed by Sukthankar, they are unequal in size and uncouth in appearance The **language** is Sanskrit and the whole record is in prose The **orthography** shows the same peculiarities as in the two preceding inscriptions.

The inscription is of **Vyāghradēva**, who meditated on the feet of the **Vākātaka** *Mahārāja* **Prithivīshēṇa.** He was evidently a fuedatory of the latter The **object** of the inscription is to record that Vyāghradēva did something, perhaps a dam to stem the waters of a stream, for the religious merit of his parents As shown before, this Vyāghra was probably identical with the homonymous prince of the Uchchakalpa dynasty who flourished in *circa* 470-90 A C[2] His suzerain was therefore probably the Vākātaka king Prithivīshēna II

TEXT[3]

1 वाकाटकाणा (ना) महाराज[श्रि][4] (श्री)-
2 पृथिवि (वी) षेणपादानुद्ध्यातो व्याघ्रदे-
3 वो मातापित्रो[*] पुन्या (ण्या) त्थें कृतमिति[5] [।*]

TRANSLATION

Vyāghradēva, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious **Prithivīshēna (II),** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākāṭakas,** has made (*this*) for the religious merit of his mother and father.

---

[1] *Ep Ind*, Vol XVII, p 12
[2] Sukthankar referred the record to the seventh century A C
[3] From the facsimile facing page 12 in *Ep Ind*, Vol XVII
[4] The superscript *i* is not clear
[5] Read कृतवानिति

7 सुकृतप्रशन्सि (सी) गुणान्तरज्ञ पुरुषोपभोग्य [।*] सद्धर्म्मशीलो (ल) मुनय[प्र]-
8 धान श्रीवत्सराज (जो) नृपतिर्व्व (र्ब्ब) भूव[1] ॥ [३॥*] तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यात प-
9 रममाहेश्वर परमब्रह्मण्य परमगुरुदेवताधिदैवतविशेष[*]
10 श्रीमा[2] श्रीमत्या देव्या द्रोणभट्टारिकायामुत्पन्न श्रीमहाराजना-
11 गबल [।*] तुरगखुरनिपातक्षुण्णमार्गा धरित्रि (त्री) मलिनयति दिगन्ता (न्तान्)
12 पा (पा) सुरूक्षाकुलान्ता (न्तान्) [।*] मदमलिनकपोला वारणा यस्य

Second Plate First Side

13 य (या) त प्रशममुपनयन्ते शीकरार्द्रा (र्द्रान्)[3] क्षणेन[4] ॥[४॥*] ततस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-
14 नुध्यात परममाहेश्वर परब्रम (ह्म) ण्य परमगुरुदेवताधिदैवत-
15 विशेष श्रीमत्या देव्यामिन्द्रभट्टारिकायाम (मु) त्पन्न श्रीमहाराजभरत[*]
16 इन्द्रो दयाशीलगुणान्विताया श्रौदार्य्यचातुर्य्यसम (म) न्विताया[।*] पु-
17 त्र [*] प्रसूतोमलचारुकान्ति शैलेन्द्रपुत्र्या इव कार्त्तिकेय[5] [॥४॥*] इन्द्रो दा-
18 रणिसभवेथ हुतभुक्तत्तेजोज्वल[6] स्नेहवात्सद्वृत्तस्थितिविप्रमन्द्र[7]-
19 विधृतप्र (प्रा) प्तप्रमाणोन्नति[*]। दृष्ट साधुसुखोदयाय हि नृणा ध-
20 म्मार्थिसपादक वेद्यामध्वरसस्थिते वसुहुत पूज्य सता सर्व्व-
21 दा[8] [॥६॥*] येनोत्तुङ्गरिपुद्रुमैरविरलैर्भ्भ (र्ब्भ) ग्नै समस्ता दिशच्छ (श्छ) न्ना दिध्व (ग्व) र-
22 दन्तिनेव गुरुणा व्याक्रि (कृ) ष्य विस्फूर्ज्जिता (तै)। यस्यैव (व) विधचेष्ट (ष्टि) तस्य नृ-
23 पते कृत्स्ने महीमण्डल (ले) सौराज्यश्री (श्रि) यमादधातु[9] विपुला धर्म्मार्थिकाम-
24 प्रदा[10] [॥७॥*] श्रीभरत क्षितिनाथ क्षितिपतितिलक सुरेन्द्रसमवि (वी) र्य्य
25 विनिहतरिपुगणलक्ष्मि (क्ष्मी) दधार य सश (श्रि) ता स्वभुजो (जे)[11] [॥८॥*] एकैव[12]

Second Plate Second Side

26 स्फटिकविमलशुभ्र वि (बि) भ्रति (ती) शीलतोयन[13]। यमनियतु (म) तटान्तप्रान्तगु-
27 ढप्रवाह (हम्) [।*] प्रशमगुणगणोमिया (र्मिर्या) जन पावयन्ति (यन्ती) स्वयमिह सुर-
28 लोकादागता जाह्नवीव[14] ॥[९॥*] श्रीमच्चान्द्रा (न्द्रा) शुकि (की) र्तेर्भरतव (ब) लनृपस्योत्तम-
(मा) र (रा) ज-
29 पत्नि (त्नी)।[15] जाता य (या) कौ (को) सलायाममरजकुलजा किति (कीर्त्ति) म (मु) च्चैर्दधाता-
(ना) ॥ (।) शश्वद्धर्माए (र्थ)-
30 कार (म) प्रतिविहिततमातीव[16] लोकप्रकाशा याता र (पौ) त्रै प्रपौत्रैर्न[य] विनयर-

---

1 Metre *Upajāti*

2 Read श्रीमान्

3 It seems better to construe this adjective with दिगन्तान् than with मही as Chhabra does

4 Metre *Mālini*

5 Metre. *Indravajrā*

6 Read हुतभुक्तेजोज्ज्वल

7 Read स्नेहवान्सद्वृत्तस्थितिविप्रमन्त्र-

8 Metre *Śārdulavikrīḍita.*

9 Chhabra suggests the emendations चेष्टित स for चेष्टतस्य, नृपति for नृपते and आदधाति for आदधातु I would rather keep these words unchanged and suggest विपुला for विपुला and धर्म्मार्थकामप्रदा for धर्म्मार्थिकामप्रदा The construction then would be यस्य कृत्स्ने मण्डले धर्म्मार्थिकामप्रदा मही विपुला सौराज्यश्रियमादधातु।

10 Metre *Śardūlavikrīḍita*

11 Metre *Aryā.*

12 The words एकैव are not connected with the following verse Construe them with भरतबलस्य राजपत्नी in v. 10

13 Read तोयम् The following mark of punctuation is superfluous

14 Metre *Mālini.*

15 This mark of punctuation is superfluous

16 There is a wrong *sandhi* here प्रतिविहिततमा and अतीव Dissolve शश्वद्धर्म्मार्थकामप्रतिविहितनमा as follows:— शश्वद्धर्म्मार्थिकामैः प्रतिविहित तम यया सा Thus dissolved, the compound makes the queen's name लोकप्रकाशा significant.

31 तै राजसि (सि) घै (है) प्रतिष्ठा [म्*] [1]॥ [१०॥*] योसौ सपूर्णशक्तित्रयविनिपतितानेकसामन्त-
32 मूर्द्धप्रोद्‌घृष्टोत्फुल्लपपर्दति[2] चलनय (यु) गाक्रान्तदिक्र (क्च) क्रवाल [।*] सौम्य सो-
33 यण्य (ञ्च) वश प्रभव इति जने कीर्त्यते (र्त्यते) यस्य चोच्चै स श्रीमा (मान्) सवभुवास्र-
34 तिय[3]गुणा (ण) गणो दि (दी) र्णवैरो नरेन्द्र [॥११॥*] तत मेकलाय (या) उत्तररा[ष्ट्रे]पा[ञ्च][4]ग-
35 र्त्ताविषये वर्द्धमानके ।[5] ग्रामकूटद्रोणाग्रकनायकदेववारिकगण्डक-
36 प्रमुखा (खान्) सवा (र्वा) नेव यथाप्रतिवासिन समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु
37 मर्हैयपादै[6]रय ग्रासा (म) साद्र[गा][7] सोपरिकर अचाटभटप्रवेशी (श्य) सनि-
38 धि सोपनिधि [8]श्वो (श्चो) रदण्डवर्जत[9] चतु सि (सी) मापर्य्यन्त आचन्द्रार्कक्षित (ति)-

Third Plate

39 तारकानिरोधेन मात (ता) पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृध (द्ध) ये वत्ससगोत्रश्रीमा-
40 द्धिच (द्धच) न्दिनलोहितसरस्व (स्वा) मिन (ने) प्रतिपादिते (तइ) त्यवगम्य यथोचितभागभो-
41 गेनाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भवितव्यमिति[।*] स्वयमाज्ञापना[।*] ये चास्मद्वङ्शे[10] समुत्प-
42 द्यन्ते राजान [11]स्तैरपीय दत्तिरनुमोदनीयानुपालनीया च[।*]य [12]श्चैमा (ता) दत्ति (त्ति) विलोपमा-
43 प (पा) दयिष्यति स पञ्चभिर्महा[पा*]तकै सयुक्त[*]स्य (स्या) दिति[।*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-
44 भिस्सागरादिभि [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल (लम्)[13] [॥१२॥] षष्टि वर्षस-
45 हस्राणि स्वर्ग्ग (र्गे) मोदति भूमिद[।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥१३॥*] स्व-
46 दत्ता (त्ता) परदत्ता (त्ता) बा (वा) यत्नाद्रक्ष नराध (धि) प [।*] मही (ही) महिमता श्रेष्ट
दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन[म्*] [॥१४॥*]
47 समाप्त चेद शासन (नम्) [॥*] प्रवर्द्धमान ।[14] विजयराज्यसवत्सरे २ भ (भा) द्रपदकृष्णत्र-
48 योदश्या पुष्यनक्षत्रेण [।*] लिखित[15]ञ्चेद शासन राहसिकेशानपुत्रेण शिवेनो-
49 त्कीर्णञ्च सुवर्णकारेश्वरपुत्रेण मिहिरकेने (णे) ति ॥

TRANSLATION[16]

Success! Hail!

(Verse 1) There was in the lineage of the **Pāndavas** of extremely spotless glory and abundant lustre, a king of **Mēkalā**, who acquired wide fame and became foremost among the lords of the earth—who, by his own glorious deeds, has, for all time, become renowned in this world by the name of **Jayabala**, a disposer of Fortune, who had a charming form and was adorned with a multitude of excellent qualities

(V 2) He had a son, who resembled the lord of Vatsa[17] (*i e* Udayana), who attained victories in battles, who was famous, compassionate, endowed with virtues and conversant

[1] Metre of this and the next verse *Sragdharā*
[2] Chhabra ingeniously suggests the reading पद्मद्युति in place of पपर्दति
[3] Read सार्वभौमप्रथित- as suggested by Chhabra
[4] This *akshara* appears more like ण्ड than like ञ्च However, I have adopted Chhabra's reading.
[5] This sign of punctuation is superfluous
[6] Perhaps मदीयपादै is intended, though it would look queer in the donor's mouth
[7] Read सोद्रङ्ग-
[8] This *visarga* is superfluous
[9] Read चोरदण्डवर्जम् This expression should precede अचाटभटप्रवेशी (श्य)
[10] Read -द्वशे
[11] This *visarga* is superfluous
[12] This *visarga* is also superfluous
[13] Metre of this and the following two verses *Anushtubh*
[14] This sign of punctuation is superfluous
[15] This *anusvāra* is superfluous
[16] In this I have derived some help from Dr Chhabra's translation of this record
[17] This is according to the proposed emendation *Vatsēśvara-pratisamō* If the text is to be interpreted as it stands, Vatsēśvara will be the same as Vatsarāja mentioned in the next verse

with religious rites, (*and*) who made the gardens of the houses of his enemies crowded with wild beasts [1]

(V 3) There was the king, the illustrious **Vatsarāja,** who was magnanimous, who extolled the good deeds (*of others*), who could differentiate between merits and was obliging to (*his*) people, righteous and devoted to good policy

(Line 8) His son was the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Nāgabala,** born of the illustrious (*queen*) **Drōnabhattārikā,** who meditated on his feet, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and a great patron of the Brāhmanas, who was (*regarded* as) the most revered teacher a deity and the supreme divinity and was possessed of royal fortune

(V 4) As he marched along, the earth, the paths on which were pounded by the hoofs of (*his*) horses, obscured the quarters, their farthest regions becoming dry and disturbed by dust, (*but*) his elephants, whose temples were soiled with the rutting juice, immediately restored order to them, making them wet with the spray (*of their rut*)

(Line 13) Then there is his son, the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Bharata,** born of the illustrious queen **Indrabhattārikā,** who meditates on his feet, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and a great patron of the Brāhmanas, (*and*) who (*is regarded as*) the most revered teacher, a deity and the supreme divinity

(V 5) From her who was endowed with the qualities of compassion and good nature as also with generosity and wisdom, there was born the son (*known as*) **Indra** possessed of a spotless and lovely lustre, even as Kārttikēya was born from (Pārvatī) the daughter of the lord of mountains

(V 6) He is (*the god*) Indra in the destruction (*of his enemies*) and (*the god*) Fire brilliant with lustre, he is amiable and steadfast in his adherence to good behaviour, he has attained authority and eminence in consequence of the (*sacred*) *mantras* recited by the Brāhmanas, his appearance makes good persons happy and leads to attainment, by the people, of religious merit and prosperity, he is always honoured by good persons with presents of wealth even as sacrificial fire kindled on the altar is with offerings (*of ghee etc*)

(V 7) He, the powerful one, who has covered all regions with (*the dead bodies of*) the multitude of the mighty and roaring enemies whom he has forcibly overthrown even as an excellent quarter-elephant does with the lofty, thickly growing and resounding trees which it uproots May the Earth, who yields (*the three objects of*) religious merit, wealth and enjoyment, produce abundant prosperity due to good government throughout the entire dominion of this king who thus exerts himself [2]!

(V 8) The illustrious king **Bharata,** the foremost among the lords of the earth, resembles (Indra) the lord of gods, in valour—(*he*) who has given shelter to the Fortune of the multitude of foes slain by him, when she resorted to his arm

The matchless one -

(V 9) who is, as it were, the Gangā herself, descended here from the world of gods, sanctifying the peoples—(*she*) who has character, bright and spotless like crystal, which is purified by restraints and vows even as the Gangā has a pure stream of crystal-like white and clear water, which flows within its banks, (*and*) who is endowed with a multitude of tranquility and other virtues just as the Gangā has its waves of water,

(V 10) who, (*named*) **Lōkaprakāśā,** has become the best royal consort of the king Bharatabala, whose fame is (*lovely*) like the moon-beams, who, being born in a family of the

---

1 He made the palaces of his enemies desolate

2 For the construction, see above, p 85, n 3.

gods, has become highly renowned, who, by her constant pursuit of (*the three purushārthas of*) religious merit, prosperity and happiness, has dispelled the darkness of ignorance (*and*) has become extremely resplendent in the world[1], (*and*) who has attained an eminent status with her sons and grandsons, who, lion-like princes as they are, are devoted to justice and discipline

(V 11) That illustrious king[2], the sovereign, who is endowed with a multitude of excellences, who has destroyed his enemies, whose pair of feet, having the grace of full-blown lotuses, and rubbed by the heads of several feudatory princes subdued by his perfect triad of powers, has overcome all regions and whose birth is highly extolled by the people as being in the famous Lunar rate—

(Line 34) [*He*] issues the following order to all residents concerned headed by (*the officials, viz*) the *Grāmakūta*, the Chief of the *Drōnāgraka*, the *Devavārika* and the *Gandakas* in (*the village*) **Vardhamānaka** in the *vishaya* of **Pañchagartā** (*included*) in the **Uttara-rāshtra** (Northern Division) of **Mēkalā**—

(Line 36) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit of Our father and mother and of Ourself, We have donated this village extending to its four boundaries,—together with *udranga* and *uparikara*[4], together with treasures and deposits, and (*with the privilege that it is*) not to be entered by (*Our*) soldiers and policemen except for punishing thieves,—to the illustrious **Lōhitasarasvāmin** of the Vatsa *gōtra* and the Mādhyandina *śākhā*, (*to be enjoyed by him and his successors*) as long as the moon, the sun, the earth and the stars will endure.

Knowing this, you should obey his orders and offer him the *bhāga* and *bhōga* according to custom"

This command has been given by Me personally And those kings also who will be born in Our family should consent to and maintain this gift And whosoever will cause obstruction in (*the enjoyment of*) this grant, will incur (*the guilt of*) the five great sins

(*Here occur three benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(Line 47) This charter is concluded In the **year 2** of the increasingly victorious reign, on the **thirteenth** (*lunar day*) of the **dark** (*fortnight*) of **Bhādrapada,** the **nakshatra** being **Pushya.**

This charter has been written by **Śiva,** son of the *Rāhasika* **Isana** and engraved by **Mihiraka,** son of the goldsmith **Īśvara.**

---

[1] There is obviously a pun on her name *Lōkaprakāśā*

[2] There is a pun on the word *narendra* which means here (1) a king (viz Bharatabala) and the Vākātaka king Narēndrasēna The transalation given above is with reference to the first meaning In the second, *saumya vamśa* will have to be taken in the sense of 'a family of gentle nature,' The Vākātakas were Brāhmanas by caste. Hence their family is described here as gentle by nature.

[3] For these officials, see above, p 84

[4] *Udranga* and *uparikara* correspond to the *bhāga* and *bhōga* mentioned below in line 40. *Udranga* was probably a land-tax while *uparikara* signified some miscellaneous taxes in kind such as are mentioned in the MSM , Ch. VII, vv. 130-32.

Nos 20-21 Plates XX and XXI

NACHNĒ-KĪ-TALĀĪ STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF VYĀGHRADĒVA

THESE two inscriptions were discovered by General Cunningham in 1883-84 He published his reading of the larger of them, together with facsimiles of both, in his *Reports* of *the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol XXI, pp 97 f They were next edited with facsimiles and a translation by Dr Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol III, pp 233 f They are edited here from the same facsimiles

The inscriptions are on a loose **slab** which was found lying on the ground outside the fort of Kuthārā near the village **Nachnē-kī-talāī,** about seven miles north-west of Jasō, the chief town of the former Jasō State, now included in Madhya Pradesh Inscription No 20 is incomplete and is engraved on one of the sides of the slab, while inscription No 21 which is complete is on the face of it The former inscription was left incomplete probably because that side of the stone was found too rough The inscription was therefore commenced again and finished on what is now the front side of the slab

The writing of No 20 covers a space of about 1′ 9¾″ broad by 7½″ high, that of No 21, about 1′ 9″ broad by 1′ 1″ high In the centre of the larger inscription there is the figure of a wheel which Jayaswal took to be a characteristic symbol of the Vākātakas The **characters** belong to the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets There has been a great difference of opinion about the age of these inscriptions, which, as stated below, refer themselves to the reign of the **Vākātaka** *Mahārāja* **Prithivīshēna.** Dr Fleet did not examine this question Perhaps there was no need to do so as there was only one Vākāṭaka king of the name Prithivīshēna known when he edited these records He naturaly assigned them to Prithivīshēna I, mentioned in the grants of Pravarasēna II[1] The Bālāghāt plates which were discovered later have brought to notice another king of that name, *viz*, Prithivīshēna II, who was the fourth lineal descendant of Prithivīshēna I Since then scholars have been sharply divided on the question of the identity of the Prithivīshēna during whose reign the present records were incised Some of them such as Dr Sukthankar[2], Dr Jayaswal[3] and Prof H C Raychaudhuri[4] thought that he was the first king of that name Rao Bahadur K N Dikshit, however, pointed out that the characters of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions were later in date than those of the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīguptā[5] He therefore identified the Prithivīshēna of these inscriptions with Prithivīshēna II of the Bālāghāṭ plates The same opinion has been expressed by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil[6] and Dr R C Majumdar[7] Recently Dr D C Sircar has reopened the question by pointing out that 'the palaeographical peculiarities of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions are undoubtedly earlier than those of even the Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, a grandson of Pravarasēna I[8]' He has drawn pointed attention to the triangular form of

---

1 *CII*, Vol III, p 233
2 *Ep Ind*, Vol XVII, p 13
3 *History of India*, etc, p 73
4 *Political History of Ancient India*, p 541
5 *Ep Ind*, Vol XVII, p 362
6 *Ind Ant* Vol LV, pp 103 f
7 *J.R A S B*, Vol XII, pp 1 f
8 *HCIP*, Vol III, p. 179, n. 1.

v and the old forms of *t* and *j* occurring in the present inscriptions He is therefore definitely of the opinion that these inscriptions belong to the reign of Prithivīshēna I In view of this conflict of opinions it is necessary to examine this question rather closely Dr Sircar seems to think that the triangular form of *v* went out of use soon after the time of Prithivīshēna I and so these records cannot be referred to the reign of Prithivīshēna II, when the rectangular form of that letter was in vogue This is not borne out by the inscriptions of the age As a matter of fact, the rectangular form of *v* had come into use even before the time of Prithivīshēna I We notice several instances of it in the Ēran stone inscription[1] of Samudragupta, see *kulavadhūh*, line 20, *vichintya*, line 24 etc On the other hand, the triangular form of *v* did not disappear soon after the age of Prithivīshēna I, for we find it used in the Sāñchī inscription[2] of Chandragupta II, dated G 93, see e g *mahāvihārē*, line 1, *sarvva-guna-*, line 8 etc Indeed, it continued in use much longer, for while the inscriptions of the Vākātakas generally use the rectangular *v*, the Pōdāgadh stone inscription of Skandavarman[3] and the Kesaribēdā plates of Arthapati[4] use the triangular form of that letter, see e g *Bhavadattasya*, line 3, and *a-pravēśyam*, line 8 in the former, and *vibhah*, line 1 and *dhruva-*, line 7 in the latter The Nala kings Skandavarman and Arthapati did not flourish earlier than Prithivīshēna II[5] It is noteworthy that all the inscriptions mentioned above are incised in box-headed characters The triangular form of *v* is therefore no indisputable evidence which would compel us to assign the present records to Prithivīshēna I The same can be said of the so-called old forms of *j* and *t*, for these also occur in the Pōdāgadh inscription It is true that the form of *v* in the present inscriptions is more angular than that seen in the other records mentioned above, but angularity is no sure sign of an earlier age As pointed out by Kielhorn,[6] the characters of Pravarasēna II's grants are more angular than those of the Bālāghāt plates of his grandson Prithivīshēna II Besides, it is not unlikely that the writer of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions was influenced by the form of *v* current in that locality We must note in this connection that the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions are the only records in box-headed characters from the Baghēlkhand region The standard form of characters current in that locality was nail-headed as seen in the Majhgawām plates[7] of Hastin and the Bamhanī plates[8] of Bharatabala The writer of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions was apparently not quite familiar with the box-headed characters[9] though he wrote the records in them evidently to please the Vākātaka overlord He therefore seems to have unconsciously imitated the form of *v* from the nail-headed alphabet with which he was more familiar We find an analogous instance in the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīguptā The writer of that grant, who probably hailed from North India, was not quite familiar with box-headed characters which were current in Vidarbha He commenced to write in them the legend on the seal, but after writing the first four letters viz *Vākātaka*, he gave them up and wrote the remaining legend in nail-headed characters The triangular form

---

[1] *C I I*, Vol III, plate facing, p 20

[2] *Ibid*, Vol III, plate facing, p 28

[3] *Ep Ind*, Vol XXI, pp 153 f

[4] *Ibid*, Vol XXVIII, p 12 f

[5] Dr Sircar thinks that the Nala king Skandavarman was a contemporary of the Early Chālukya king Kīrtivarman I (567-97 A C) See *H C I P*, Vol III, p 189

[6] *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 268

[7] *C I I*, Vol III, pp 106 ff

[8] No 19, above

[9] As observed by Sukthankar, the letters of these epigraphs are uncouth in appearance

of *v* is therefore no sure sign of the early age of these inscriptions[1] The forms of *j* and *t* also do not preclude the view that **these records belong to the reign of Prithivīshena II**[2].

The **language** is Sanskrit and both the inscriptions are in prose As regards **orthography**, the only point that need be noticed is the doubling of *dh* before *y* in *-ānuddhyāta-* in line 2 of No 21

Inscription No 20, which is incomplete, mentions in the first line the name of the **Vākātaka** *Mahārāja* **Prithivīshēna.** The name of his feudatory **Vyaghra** is incompletely incised in line 2 No 21 mentions the names of both and records that Vyāghradēva made something, perhaps a temple, a well or a tank, for the religious merit of his father and mother. The record is not dated, but since it blongs to the reign of Prithivīshena II as shown above, it may be referred to the period 470 to 490 A C Vyāghradēva of the present inscriptions is probably identical with the king Vyāghra of the Uchchhakalpa dynasty who was ruling over the region in the same period The latter's son Jayanātha was ruling in G. 174 and G 177[3] His reign may therefore have extended from G 170 to G 190. **Vyāghra**, his father, was therefore probably ruling from *circa* G 150 to G 170 i e from 470 A C to 490 A C **He was thus a contemporary of the Vākātaka king Prithivīshēna II.**

TEXT[4]

No 20

1 वाकाटकाणा (ना) महा[5]राजश्रि (श्री) पृथिवि (वी) षेण-
2 · · [व्या][घ्र?]

No 21

1 वाकाटकाणा (नां) महाराजश्रि (श्री)-
2 पृथिवि (वी) षेणपादा[6]नुद्ध्यतो
3 व्याघ्रदेवो मातापित्रो[*] पुन्या (ण्या) र्त्थे
4 कृतमिति[7][। *]

TRANSLATION[8]

Vyāghradēva who meditates on the feet of the illustrious **Prithivīshēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, has made (*this*) for the religious merit of (*his*) mother and father

[1] This form of *v* occurs throughout in the Bamhanī plates of Narēndrasēna's feudatory Bharatabala

[2] For the examination of other arguments advanced in support of the view that these inscriptions belong to the reign of Prithivīshēna I, see Introduction, pp. xii f, above

[3] *C I I*, Vol III, pp 117 and 121 The dates of the Uchchakalpa kings are recorded in the Gupta, not the Kalachuri, era as shown by me in *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIII, pp 171 f

[4] From the facsimiles facing page 234 in Fleets *C I I*, Vol. III

[5] This *akshara* was at first omitted and then written below the line

[6] This *akshara* was at first omitted and subsequently written below the line.

[7] Read कृतवानिति

[8] This is a translation of No 21. No 20 is fragmentary and mentions only Vyāghra and the illustrious Prithivīshēna (II), the *Mahārāja* of the Vākātakas

No 22 PLATE XXII

GANJ STONE INSCRIPTION OF VYĀGHRADĒVA

THIS inscription was discovered by Mr R D Banerji in 1919 It was edited for the first time with a facsimile and a translation by Dr V S Sukthankar in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol XVII, pp 12 ff It is edited here from the same facsimile

The inscription is engraved on a detached **slab** of **stone** which Mr Banerji found lying at the bottom of a *ḍongā,* adjoining a hill called Maluhā-tongi near **Ganj** in the former Ajayagadh state, now included in Madhya Pradēsh Close by is a ruined stone structure, probably a dam to hold the waters of the stream passing along the dongā The findspot of the present inscription is not far removed from the ruined city of Kuthārā where the Nachnē-kī-talāī inscriptions were discovered[1]

The present inscription is much better preserved than the preceding two records of the same king The writing covers a space 2′ 1″ by 1′ As in the Nachnē-kī-talāī inscriptions, there is in the centre of the first line the figure of a wheel The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, resembling closely those of the preceding two records As observed by Sukthankar, they are unequal in size and uncouth in appearance The **language** is Sanskrit and the whole record is in prose The **orthography** shows the same peculiarities as in the two preceding inscriptions

The inscription is of **Vyāghradēva,** who meditated on the feet of the **Vākāṭaka** *Mahārāja* **Pṛithivīshēṇa.** He was evidently a fuedatory of the latter The **object** of the inscription is to record that Vyāghradēva did something, perhaps a dam to stem the waters of a stream, for the religious merit of his parents As shown before, this Vyāghra was probably identical with the homonymous prince of the Uchchakalpa dynasty who flourished in *circa* 470-90 A C[2] His suzerain was therefore probably the Vākātaka king Prithivīshēna II

TEXT[3]

1 वाकाटकाणा(ना) महाराज[श्रि][4](श्री)-
2 पृथिवि(वी)षेणपादानुद्धयातो व्याघ्रदे-
3 वो मातापित्रो[*] पुन्या(ण्या)त्थें कृतमिति[5] [।*]

TRANSLATION

Vyāghradēva, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious **Pṛithivīshēna (II),** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākāṭakas,** has made (*this*) for the religious merit of his mother and father

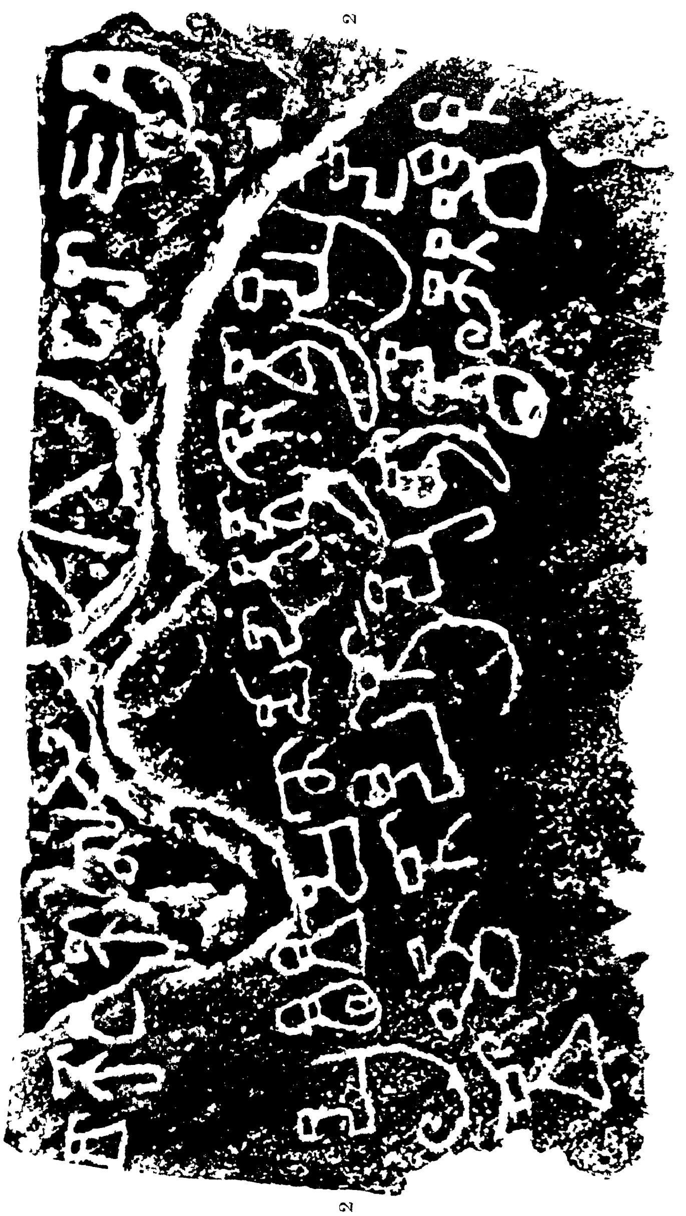
[1] *Ep Ind*, Vol XVII, p 12
[2] Sukthankar referred the record to the seventh century A C
[3] From the facsimile facing page 12 in *Ep Ind*, Vol XVII
[4] The superscript *i* is not clear.
[5] Read कृतवानिति.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL V

PLATE XXII

GANJ STONE INSCRIPTION OF VYĀGHRADĒVA



Scale about One-third

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE VATSAGULMA BRANCH

No 23: Plate XXIII

BĀSIM PLATES OF VINDHYAŚAKTI II

THESE plates were discovered by Pandit Vāsudev Śāstrī Dhanāgarē at **Bāsim,** the headquarters of the Bāsim tahsil of the Akōlā District in Vidarbha There were first published with facsimiles by Dr. Y. K Deshpande and D B Mahajan in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* Third Session, pp. 459 f They were re-edited with fresh facsimiles by Mr D B Mahajan and myself in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol XXVI, pp 137 f They are edited here from the same facsimiles. The plates are in the possession of Mr Dhanāgarē at Bāsim.

The **copper-plates** are four in number, each measuring 6 1″ broad and 3 4″ high The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only, and the other two on both the sides Their ends are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims, still the inscription is in a good state of preservation About 1 2″ from the middle of the proper right edge of each plate, there is a round hole, 25″ in diameter for the ring which holds the plates together The ring, however, has no seal. The total weight of the plates together with the ring is 47½ *tōlās* The inscription contains thirty lines of writing, which are equally divided on the six inscribed sides of the four plates

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, resembling those of the grants of Pravarasēna II The only peculiarities that need be noticed here are as follows:—The medial *au* is bipartite as in *-pautrasya,* line 3; *kh* is in some cases without a loop, cf. *rakkhadha,* line 25; *t* and *n* are not distinguished in many places, both being denoted by the same form, see *-vvachanāt,* line 5, *hemanta,* line 28 and *anumannati,* line 26; the lingual *ṇ* has an identical form whether it is used as a subscript or a superscript letter, as in *a-hiraṇṇa-dhāṇṇa,* line 20. **Numerical symbols** for 30, 7 and 4 occur in lines 28 and 29 of the text, those for 1 to 4 on the first inscribed side of the respective plates Of these the symbol for 4 in line 29 is noteworthy, for it consists of the sign for *ka* with an additional curve, not at the top as usual, but at the right side of its horizontal bar In the margin of the same plate, the symbol is exactly like *ka* A final consonant is indicated by its short form without a box at the head; see *-vvachanāt,* line 5 Finally, a crescent-like curve is used here and there as a mark of punctuation, which is redundant in most cases The **language** of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Prakrit. The genealogical portion of the grant in lines 1-5 is in Sanskrit, the formal portion which follows is in Prakrit, but like the Hirahadgalli plates, the present inscription closes with a benedictory sentence in Sanskrit It is noteworthy that as in early Prakrit inscriptions of the Pallavas and Brihatphalāyanas, there are no benedictive or imprecatory verses at the end. The Sanskrit portion calls for no special notice except that the *gōtra* of the Vākāṭakas which is usually given as Vishṇuvriddha appears here in the form Vrishnivriddha. The former is evidently the correct form; for it is the only form of the *gōtra* given by the standard works on the *gotras* and *pravaras* The Prakrit portion of the inscription deserves careful study; for this is one of the few copper-plate grants from south India which contain a detailed portion in Prakrit Even in this portion, however, the language is influenced by Sanskrit; see, e g the Sanskrit expressions *svasti-śānti-vāchanē,* lines 8-9, *sa-mañcha-mahākarana,* line 24 etc , which are inserted in the midst of

Prakrit sentences. The present grant has many technical expressions mentioning exemptions granted to the donees which are common to the grants of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, but unlike the latter, the present inscription shows several instances of double consonants, though cases of single consonants doing duty for double ones are by no means rare; see e.g. *Chātuvejja-ggāma-majjātā*, line 19 and contrast *Revatijesi*, line 18 etc. In some respects the language of the present record does not strictly conform to the rules of Prakrit grammarians; see e.g. *tiṇṇā* in line 17 instead of *tiṇṇi* laid down by Vararuchi, VI, 56. Other noteworthy forms are *se* in line 19 in the sense of *tasya*, *ya* in lines 7, 19, 25 and 26 meaning *cha*, and the euphonic nasal *etthan-gāme* in line 9. As for the dialect used, it is, as might be expected, the **Māhārāshtrī**, see, *e.g.*, *āpuno* (for the regular *appano*[1]) in line 8, but it is curious to note that this record found in the heart of Mahārāshtra exhibits some peculiarities which are usually ascribed to the Śaurasēnī, see, e.g., the softening of *th* into *dh* in *Ādhivvanika*, line 9, and the verbal forms *rakkhadha*, *rakkhāpedha*, *pariharadha* and *parihārāpedha*[2] in lines 25 and 26 and *dāni*[3] in line 8. On the other hand, we have the hardening of *d* into *t* in *majjātā*, line 19 as in the Paiśāchī. These forms show that the peculiarities of the several dialects were not strictly confined to the provinces after which they were named.

Especially noteworthy are the forms in *si* (or *sim*) used in the sense of the dative, e.g., *Jivujjesim* (Sanskrit, *Jīvāryāya*), *Ruddajesi* (Sanskrit, *Rudrāryāya*) etc. in lines 10-18. According to grammarians[4], the dative case has disappeared from the Prakrits, its place being taken by the genitive. The genitive singular of nouns in *a* usually ends in *ssa* (written as *sa* in very early records) and this is the form which is invariably found in other Prakrit inscriptions. The form in *si* (or, *sim*) which is found throughout in the present inscription has survived in old Marathi works like the *Līlācharitra* and the *Jñānēśvarī*. It is the parent of the Marathi dative affix *sa*.

The only **orthographical peculiarities** that call for notice are the reduplication of a consonant after *r* (as in *Dharmma-*, line 1) and *anusvāra* (as in *sā[m]vvachchharam*, line 28), the use of *j* for *y* as in *karejja*, line 26 and the use of the class- nasal in place of *anusvāra* in Sanskrit and Prakrit words, see e.g. *Vindhyaśaktēr-*, line 5 and *a-chammangālika*, line 22.

Like other finished Vākāṭaka grants, the present inscription opens with the word *drishtam* 'seen', the auspicious word *siddham* being written in the margin of the first plate as in the Hirahadgalli plates of Śivaskandavarman. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the **Vākāṭaka** king, the *Dharmamahārāja* **Vindhyaśakti.** The **object** of it is to register the grant, by Vindhyaśakti, of the village **Ākāsapadda**[5] which was situated near **Tākālakkhōppaka** in the northern *mārga* (Subdivision) of **Nāndīkaḍa.** The donees were certain Brāhmanas of the Ātharvana *charaṇa* or the Atharvavēda. It may be noted that a Brāhmana of this Vēda is mentioned as the donee in the Tirodī plates of Pravarasēna II also. The names of the donees ended in *ārya* as in some other grants of the Vākāṭakas. The land or the revenue of the village was divided into four parts, of which three were assigned to eight Brāhmanas and the remaining one to one Brāhmana. The shares of the former,

---

[1] Vararuchi, V, 45. In Śaurasēnī the form would be *attano*.
[2] *Ibid.*, XII, 3.
[3] Hēmachandra lays down *dāṇim* in VIII, 4, 277, but says that the final *anusvāra* is optionally dropped (VIII, 1, 29).
[4] Vararuchi, VI, 64.
[5] The name of the village is given in the plural as *Valūrakesu* in inscription No. 13 at Karle. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 57.

again, were not equal, four of them received only half a share[1] and the remaining four, two shares each

The plates are **dated** in the **thirty-seventh year** (expressed in **numerical symbols** evidently of the reign of the donor Vindhyaśakti, on the **4th day** of the **first fortnight** of **Hēmanta.** The date is noteworthy, for it is one of the two season dates occurring in the grants of the Vākātakas The grant was written by the *Sēnāpati* **Vaṇhu** (Vishnu) and was issued from **Vatsagulma.**

The inscription gives the following genealogy of the donor Vindhyaśakti —**Pravarasēna,** his son **Sarvasēna** and the latter son **Vindhyaśakti.** In connection with Vindhyaśakti the inscription purports to state that he had performed the Agnishtōma, Āptōryama, Vājapēya, Jyōtishtōma, Brihaspatisava Sādyaskra and four Aśvamēdhas, and that he was a *Hāritīputra* (a son, i e , a descendant of Hāritī) and *Dharmamahārāja* These two latter epithets are found applied to a Vākātaka king in this grant only They seem to have been adopted from the grants of the Kadambas As only one Vindhyaśakti was known before the discovery of the present plates *viz* , he who is mentioned in the Purānas and in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā, it was at first naturally supposed that the donor of the plates was identical with the celebrated founder of the Vākātaka dynasty The present inscription was therefore supposed to carry the genealogy of the Vākātakas two generations before Vindhyaśakti It has since been pointed out that the genealogical portion of the present grant is faulty in construction; for it seems to repeat the epithet *Dharmamahārāja* three times in connection with Vindhyaśakti Besides, it credits Vindhyaśakti with the performance of almost the same number of identical sacrifices as those mentioned in connection with Pravarasēna I in all other Vākātaka grants[2] It seems therefore that the expressions *śrī-Pravarasēna-pautrasya* in line 3 and *śrī-Sarvasēna-putrasya* in line 4 are to be taken as *śrī-Pravarasēnasya pautrasya* and *śrī-Sarvasēnasya putrasya,* so that the preceding adjectival expressions in the genitive case including the epithet *Dharmamahārājasya* would agree with *śrī-Pravarasēnasya* and *śrī-Sarvasēnasya* respectively According to this construction, all the three kings, Pravarsēna, Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśakti, would receive the epithet *Dharmamahārāja,* and there would thus be no tautology Besides, the expression *Agnishtōm-Āptōryyāma chatur-Aśvamēdha-yājinaḥ* and *Samrāja[ḥ]* would now qualify *Śrī-Pravarasēnasya,* showing that it was Pravarasēna, and not Vindhyaśakti, who performed these sacrifices and assumed the title *Samrāt* This is quite in keeping with the statement in other Vākātaka grants Pravarasēna who heads the genealogical list in the present plates would thus be Pravarasēna I who, according to the *Purāṇas,* was the son of Vindhyaśakti The Vākātaka king who granted the present plates should therefore be called Vindhyaśakti II He thus becomes the great-grandson of Vindhyaśakti I The genealogy in the present plates would therefore be as follows—

Pravarasēna I
|
(son)
Sarvasēna
|
(son)
Vindhyaśakti II

This would therefore be a different branch of the Vākātaka family, for according to the genealogy in several inscriptions of Pravarasēna II and Prithivishēna II, Pravarasēna I

---

1 The text has *āddhaka* in line 10 which probably means ' a half' Cf *amsik-āddha* in line 21 of the Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman *Ibid*, Vol VI, p 317

2 See D C Sircar's note on the present plates in Ind *Hist. Quart*, Vol XVI, pp 182 f

was succeeded by his grandson Rudrasēna I, the son of Gautamīputra, who probably did not come to the throne

These princes were also mentioned in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā, but owing to the mutilated condition of it their names were differently read by Dr Bhau Daji, Pandit Bhagvanlal and Dr Buhler, who edited it from time to time The correct readings have since been restored[1]

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Vatsagulma,** which was evidently the capital of this branch, is undoubtedly modern Bāsim where the plates were discovered. The place-name is variously derived The *Jayamangalā*, a commentary on the *Kāmasūtra*, states that Vatsa and Gulma were two uterine brothers and princes of Dakshināpatha[2] The country settled by them came to be known as Vātsagulmaka The local *Māhātmya* gives an altogether different derivation It states that Vatsa was a sage who by his very severe austerities made an assemblage (*gulma*) of gods come down and settle in the vicinity of his hermitage Both these derivations are evidently conjectural The Vātsagulmaka country is mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana which describes some peculiar customs current there Vatsagulma is also mentioned by Rājaśekhara in his works *Karpūramañjarī* and *Kāvyamīmāmsā* **Nāndīkada,** which was apparently the headquarters of a district[3], is probably identical with Nānded the chief town of a district of the same name in the Mahārāshṭra State **Tākālakkhōppaka** and the donated village **Ākāsapadda** which was situated near it cannot be definitely identified From the description in line 6 we learn that they lay in the northern subdivision of Nāndikada Now, on the road which connects Nānded with Bāsim, which lies about 75 miles to the north of it, there are two villages Tākalīgohan and Tākalī, about 40 and 45 miles respectively from Nānded One of these may represent ancient **Tākālakkhōppaka.** About 7 miles to the west of Tākalīgōhan there is still a small village named Āsund which is possibly identical with **Ākāsapadda.** The identification of Nāndīkada with Nānded which is almost certain shows that Vindhyaśakti II was ruling over southern Berar and the northern part of the former Hyderabad State

TEXT[4]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[5] [।*] दृष्टम् [।*] वत्सगुल्माद्धर्म्ममहाराजस्याग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामवाजपेयज्योति-
2 ष्टोमबृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्क (स्क्र) चतुरश्वमेधयाजिनस्सम्राज (जो) व-
3 ष्णिवृद्ध[6]सगोत्रस्य हारितीपुत्रस्य श्रीप्रवरसेनपौत्रस्य[7]
4 धर्म्ममहाराजस्य श्रीसर्व्वसेनपुत्रस्य[8] धर्म्ममहाराजस्य
5 [9]वाकाटकाना ।[10] श्रि (श्री) विन्ध्यशक्तेर्व्वचनात् [।*] नान्दीकडस [11]उत्तरमग्गे

[1] See the revised edition of it in the Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No 14 See also inscription No 25, below

[2] *Kāmasūtra* (Nirnayasagar ed), p 295 The *Brihatkathā* also probably mentioned Vatsa and Gulma as the sons of a Brahmana and the maternal uncles of Gunādhya It does not, however, state that they founded a city named Vatsagulma See *Brihatkathāmañjarī*, I, 3, 4, and *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I, 6, 9

[3] Similar names in *kata* (e g Bhojakata, Bennākata) occur in other grants of the Vākāṭakas as names of districts

[4] From the facsimiles facing pages 152 and 153 in *Ep Ind*, Vol XXVI

[5] This word is written in the margin on a level with line 3

[6] Other Vākātaka plates name this *gōtra* as *Vishnuvriddha* See No 3, line 2

[7] Read श्रीप्रवरसेनस्य पौत्रस्य

[8] Read श्रीसर्वसेनस्य पुत्रस्य

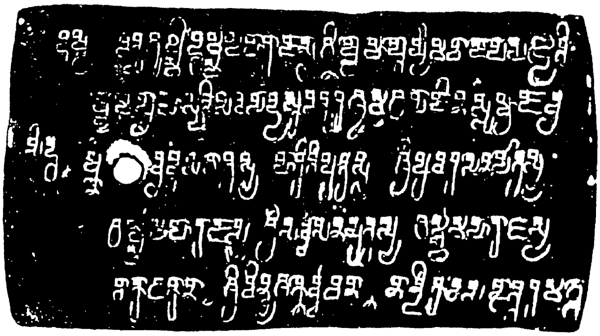
[9] Opposite this line in the margin there is a sign for 1 denoting the number of the plate.

[10] This mark of punctuation is superfluous

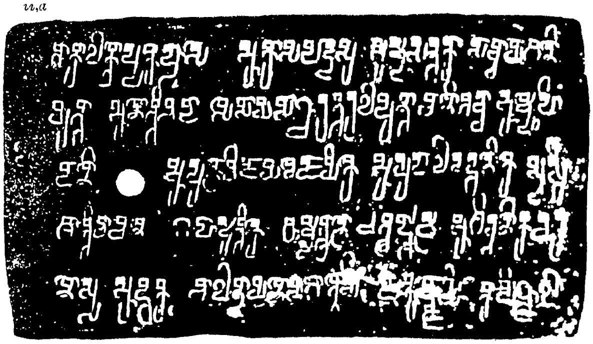
[11] The engraver first incised *dā* which he afterwards altered to *u*

BĀSIM PLATES OF VINDHYAŚAKTI II

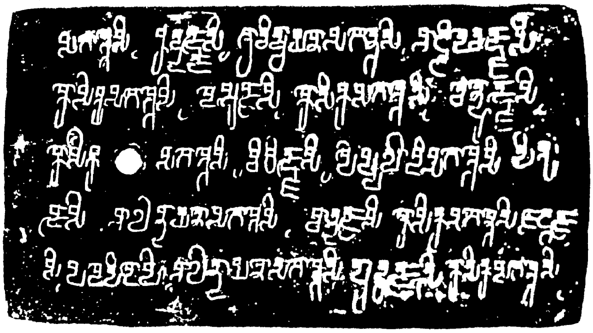
i



ii,a



ii,b



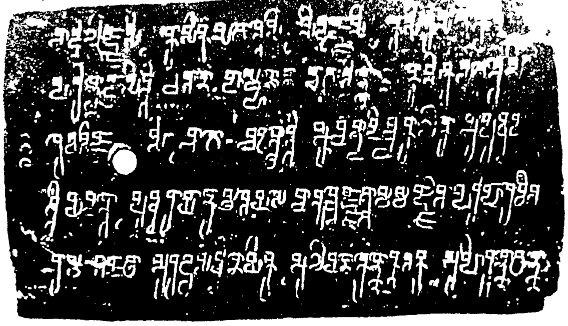
Scale Three-fourths

D C Sircar

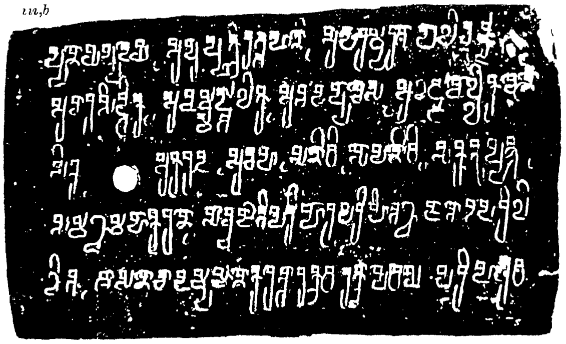
Reg No 3977 E'36—1103'62

Printed at the Survey of India Offices (P L O)

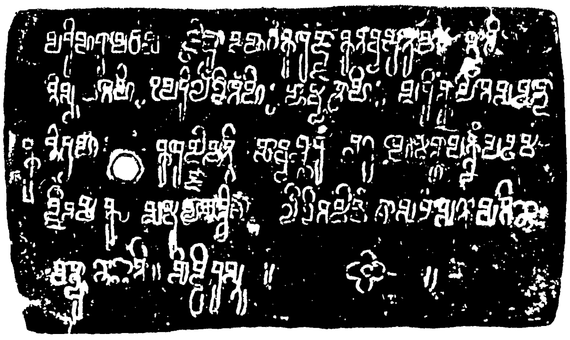
iii,a



iii,b



iv



Second Plate: First Side

6 ताकालक्खोप्पकाब्भासे आकासपद्देसु अम्हसन्तका साव्वायोगणि-
7 युत्ता आणत्ति[1] भडा सेसा य साञ्चरन्तर(कु)लपुत्ता[2] भाणितव्वा [।*] आम्हेहि
8 [3]दाणि[4] आपुणो[5] विजयवेजयिके आयुबलवद्धणिके[6] स्वस्ति-
9 शान्तिवाचने[7] इहाभुत्तिके धाम्मत्थाणे एत्थङ्गामे आधिव्वणिक[8]चर-
10 णस्स आद्धक।[9] भालन्दायणसगोत्तसि जिवुज्जेसि कपिञ्जल-

Second Plate Second Side

11 सगोतेसि[10]। रुद्दजेसि। श्राविष्ठायण[11]सगोत्तेसि। भाट्टिदेवज्जेसि
12 कोसि[क]सगोत्तेसि। देअजेसि। कोसिकसगोत्तेसि। वेण्हुज्जेसि।
13 कोसी(सि)कसगोत्तेसि। विधिज्जेसि। पैप्पलादिसगोत्तेसि। पितु-
14 जेसि भालन्दायणसगोत्तेसि चान्दजेसि कोसिकसगोन्ते(त्ते)सि जेट्ठजे-
15 सि। पदे(टे)हि दोहि भालन्दायणसगोत्तेसि बुद्धजेसि कोसिकसगोत्तेसि।

Third Plate. First Side

16 भाद्दिलज्जेसि। कोसिकसगोत्तेसि। सिवज्जेसि। कोसिकसगोत्तेसि
17 हरिण्णजेसित्ति एताण बाम्हणाण[12] भागा तिण्णा[13] ३ कोसिकसगोत्तसि
18 [14]रेवतिजेसि। भागो १ चउत्थोत्ति आचन्दादिच्चकालिको अपुव्वद-
19 त्तीय दत्तो। पुव्वरायाणुमते य से[15] चातुवेज्जग्गाममज्जाता[16] परिहारे वित-
20 राम।[17] त जथा अरट्ठसव्विणयिक। अलवणकेण्ण[18]क्खनक। अहिरण्णधाण्ण-

---

1 *Ānatti* (Sanskrit, *Ājñapti*) is the same as *Dūtaka* who was to see to the execution of the royal order.

2 Cf आज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता in the Sanskrit grants, see above, No. 3, line 21.

3 In the margin to the left there is a sign for 2, denoting the number of this plate

4 Hēmachandra (VIII, 1, 29, IV, 277) gives both *dāni* and *dānim* in the Śaurasenī. *Dāni* occurs in the Hirahadgalli plates also Ep Ind, Vol I, p 5

5 Prakrit grammarians give *appano* as the correct form in the Māhārāshtrī, see Vararuchi, V, 46 (Bhāmaha's com), Hēmachandra, VIII, 3, 56

6 Hultzsch takes similar expressions which occur in lines 5-6 of the Mayidavōlu plates as Māgadhī nominatives It is better to take them as locative singular forms, denoting purpose In the Hirahadagalli and British Museum plates the gerund *kātūna* or *kātūnam* follows *-vaddhaniyam* or *vaddhanīye*.

7 Such an expression does not occur in the Sanskrit charters of the Vākātakas.

8 The softening of *th* into *dh* is characteristic of the Śaurasēnī See also *rakkhadha, rakkhāpedha, parihāredha*, and *parihārāpedha* in lines 25-26, below

9 The signs of punctuations in lines 10-18 are superfluous

10 The *anusvāra* on *si* is very faint, but it is there

11 The *gotra* Śrāvishtha or Śrāvishthāyana is not mentioned in the *Gotrapravaranibandhakadamba*, but the Sāngoli grant of the Kadamba king Harivarman (*Ep Ind*, Vol XIV, p. 167) names some Brāhmanas of the Śrāvishtha *gōtra* and it is noteworthy that like the donees of the present grant, they all belonged to the Atharvavēda

12 The Hirahadagalli plates have, in line 27, *etesi bamhanānam*

13 The correct form is *tinni* in all genders See *Vararuchi*, IV, 56

14 In the margin on the left, on a level with this line, there is a sign for 3, denoting the number of this plate

15 This is genitive singular of *tad*, *ibid*, VI, 11

16 This form of the word (with the hardening of *d* into *t*) occurs in line 45 of the Hirahadagalli plates. According to Prakrit grammarians this is a characteristic of the Paiśāchī dialect

17 The marks of punctuation in lines 20-27 are superfluous.

18 This seems to correspond to *kinva* in the Sanskrit charters of the Vākātakas See e g No. 2 line 17.

Third Plate: Second Side

21 प्पणयप्पदेय । अपुप्फक्खिरग्गहण[1] । अपरम्परगोबलिवद्दं [।]
22 अचारसिद्धिक । अच[2]म्मङ्गालिक । अभडप्पावेस अखट्टाचोल्लकवेणे-
23 सिक । अकरद । अवह । सणिधि । सोपणिधि । सकुतुप्पन्त[3]।
24 समञ्चमहाकरण । साव्वजातिपरिहारपरिहितञ्च [।*] जतो उपरिलि-
25 खित । शासणवादम्पमाण[4] करेत्ता रक्खध रक्खापेध य परिहरध

Fourth Plate

26 परिहरापेध य [।*] जो वु आबाध करेज्ज कतव्व अनुमण्णति[5]
27 तिस्स[6] एतेहि । उपरिलिखितेहि । ब्राह्मणेहि । परिकुपिते[7] स[द]ण्ड-
28 [8]निग्रह(ह) करेज्जामेति [।*] साव्वच्छर ३० ७ हेमन्ता(न्त) पक्ख पढम
29 [दि] व [स] ४ समुपासत्थि[9] लिखितमिम शास[न] सेणापतिणा
30 वण्हुण[10] इति ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥ – ॥[11]

TRANSLATION

Success! Seen From **Vatsagulma**-

By the order of the *Dharmamahārāja*, the illustrious **Vindhyaśakti (II)** of the **Vākāṭakas**, (*who is*) the son of the *Dharmamahārāja*, the illustrious **Sarvasēna** (*and*) grandson of the *Dharmamahārāja*, the illustrious **Pravarasēna (I)**, the *Samrāt*, and the son (*i. e. descendant*) of Hāritī[12], (*who was*) of the Vrishnivriddha *gōtra* and who performed Agnishṭōma, Aptōryāma, Vājapēya, Jyōtishṭōma[13], Bṛihaspatisava, Sādyaskra and four Aśvamēdhas:—

The *Ājñapti*[14] and soldiers who are employed by us in all departments[15] as well as other (*touring officials*) of noble birth in (*the village*) **Ākāsapadda**, which is situated near **Tākālakkhōppaka** in the northern division (*mārga*) of **Nāndikaḍa**, should be caused to be addressed (*as follows*) —

---

[1] The curve on *na* seems to have been cancelled

[2] The engraver at first incised *da* which he later changed to *cha*

[3] This corresponds to *sa-kḷipt-ōpakḷipta* in the Sanskrit charters of the Vākāṭakas See e g No 3, line 28

[4] I am indebted to Dr B Ch Chhabra for the reading of this expression

[5] The letter after *ma* has been cancelled

[6] Read *tassa*

[7] Read *parikupitehi veditassa* Cf No 3, line 31

[8] In the margin on the left, almost on a level with this line, there is a symbol for 4, denoting the number of the plate.

[9] The last three *aksharas* of this word are incised over others which have been cancelled

[10] Read *Vanhunā*

[11] There is an ornamental symbol between these two sets of *dandas*

[12] The epithet *Hāritīputra* occurs in the inscriptions of the Kadambas and the Early Chālukyas. See e g. the Tālagunda inscription of Kākusthavarman (*Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, p 31) and the Mahākūṭa inscription of Mangaleśa (*Ind Ant*, Vol XIX, p 16) In later records Hārīti (or Hārīti-pañchasikha) is represented as a sage In that case *Hārītiputra* may mean a disciple of Hārīti Cf. *Śākya-putra* meaning a Buddhist.

[13] This record mentions Jyōtishṭōma in place of Ukthya, Shōḍaśin and Atirātra, which are mentioned in other Vākāṭaka records among the sacrifices performed by Pravarasēna I

[14] *Ānatti* (Sanskrit, *Ājñapti*) is mentioned at the close of copper-plate charters and corresponds to the *Dūtaka* mentioned similarly in some charters He was entrusted with the execution of royal orders.

[15] The usual expression in Vākāṭaka grants is *Sarvādhyksha-niyōga-niyuktāh* meaning 'who are employed by the order of the General Superintendent'

(Lines 7-10) For the increase of (*Our*) life and power, for invoking blessings and peace (*for Us*), and for Our well-being in this world and the next, We have now granted, in our victorious place of religious worship[1], this village to (*the following members of*) the Ātharvanika *charana*[2] in this village as a new gift which is to be enjoyed as long as the moon and the sun will endure, (*in the following proportion*), *viz*, three parts—(*in figures*) 3—of it to these (*following*) Brāhmanas—half a share being given to Jīvujja (Jīvārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra*, to Ruddajja (Rudrārya) of the Kapiñjala *gōtra*, to Bhattidevajja (Bhartridēvārya) of the Shrāvishthāyana *gōtra*, to Deaja (Dēvārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Venhujja (Vishnvārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Vidhijja (Vidhyārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Pituja (Pitrārya) of the Paippalādi *gōtra*, to Chāndaja (Chandrārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra* (*and*) to Jetthaja (Jyēshthārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, (*and*) two shares being given to Buddhaja (Buddhārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra*, to Bhāddilajja (Bhādrilārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Sivajja (Śivārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, (and) to Harinnaja (Hiranyārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*—and the fourth part, (*in figure*) 1, to Revatijja (Rēvatyārva) of the Kauśika *gōtra*

(Lines 19-21) And We grant the following exemptions from restrictions for it, such as are incidental to a village granted to the Brāhmanas proficient in the four Vēdas, as approved by former kings, *viz*, it is to be exempt from (*the entrance of*) the District Police[3], to be exempt from the digging of salt and fermentation of liquor, it is to be exempt from (*the obligation to make*) presents of grain and gold[4], it does not entitle (*the State*) to (*the royalties on*) flowers and milk[5], and to the customary cows and bullocks[6], it is not to provide pasture, hides and charcoal, it is not to be entered by soldiers, it is not to provide cots, water-pots[7] and servants (*to touring royal officers*), it is exempt from taxes, it is not to provide draught cattle, it carries with it the right to treasures and deposits, to major and minor taxes, and to platforms and large fields[8], and it is to be exempted with immunities of all kinds

(Lines 24-30) Wherefore, you should protect it, cause it to be protected, exempt it and cause it to be exempted, regarding this charter as authoritative

---

1 *Vijaya-vejayike* seems to be misplaced In Vākātaka charters it qualifies *Dharmasthānē* when the grant was made at the capital

2 *i e* of the *Atharvavēda*

3 This is how Senart translates the expression *a-rattha-samvinayika* D C Sircar proposes to translate it by 'not to be controlled as other parts of the kingdom' See *S I*, Vol I, p 410, n 1

4 *Pranaya* means the customary present or *nazarānā* paid to the king Cf *pranaya-kriyā* in the Junāgadh inscription of Rudradāman *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, p 175

5 These were taxes in kind paid to the state See *MSM*, *Ch* VII, v

6 The expression *a-parampara-gō-balivardda* corresponds to *a-pārampara-balivadda-gahanam* of the Hirahadagalli plates and *a-parampara-bali[vadam]* of the Mayidavolu plates These latter expressions have been taken to denote 'exemption from the obligation of furnishing by turns draught cattle for the progress of royal officers' In former times it was considered to be the duty of villagers to supply means of transport for the touring of royal officers Sometimes a small tax, called *prayāna-danda*, was levied for the purpose. See *rāja-sēvakānām vasati-danda-prayāna-dandau na stah* in the Paithan plates of Rāmachandra *Ind Ant*, Vol XIV, p 318 But the use of the word *go* in addition to *balivarda* in Vākātaka grants rather indicates that the village people were exempted from the obligation of giving to the State the first calf—male or female—of every cow in the village Besides, exemption from supplying the means of conveyance has already been mentioned as *avaha* in line 23, above

7 *Chollaka* is plainly identical with *cholaka* in the Mayidavolu plates and *yollaka* in the Hirahadagalli plates Hultzsch derives *chollaka* from *chullaki*, a water-pot *Venesika* corresponds to *vināsi* in the Mayidavolu and *vinesi* in the Hiarahadagalli plates It is probably derived from *vaināśika* which the dictionaries give in the sense of 'a slave, a dependent or a subject' The obligation to provide servants for touring officers is perhaps meant here

8 Dictionaries give *karana* in the sense of 'a field'

Whoever will cause trouble or approve of it when caused, upon him, when complained against by the aforementioned Brāhmanas we will inflict punishment together with a fine.

(Line 28-30). In the **year 30** (*and*) **7**, in the **first fortnight** of **winter**, on the **day 4**. This order, given by Us personally, has been written by the *Sēnāpati* **Vishnu.** May there be success !

No 24 Plate XXIV

INDIA OFFICE PLATE OF DĒVASĒNA

THIS plate was in the possession of the **India Office,** London, but it is not known how or when it went there Its original find-spot is not known It was edited with a facsimile by Dr H. N Randle in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol II, pp 177 f Later, I published a note on it in the same volume of the Journal, pp 721 f It is edited here from Dr Randle's facsimile

'It is the **first plate** of a set, of which the other plates are not forthcoming It now measures 9¾ by 2½ inches and weighs 5 ounces, but since a part has been broken away at the ring-hole (which is fortunately in an unusual position, clear of the inscription, on the proper right edge), the plate in its original condition must have been rather longer and heavier The sides are straight, but the intact end has the corners rounded off There is no raised edge or rim The inscription consists of three lines, engraved fairly deeply (so that some characters show slightly on the reverse), and on one side only, as is usual in the case of the first (and last) plates of Vākātaka grants The first and last *aksharas* in the third line project beyond the limit of the first two lines[1]' 'The inscription ends abruptly '

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, resembling those of the grants of the Vākātaka Pravarasēna II, the only peculiarity worth noticing being the general tendency to raise the upturned curves of such letters as *k*, *r*, and the subscript *y* higher than is usual in Pravarasēna II's grants The confusion of *t* and *n* occurs in this grant also The **language** is Sanskrit and the extant portion is wholly in prose The language is in places influenced by Prakrit as in *sacharantara(ka)*, line 2 and *Yappajjassa*, line 3 The only **orthographical peculiarity** it presents is the doubling of a consonant after *r* as in *-mägga*, line 1 and *dharmma-*, line 3

The plate purports to have been issued by the **Vākātaka** *Mahārāja* **Dēvasēna** from **Vātsyagulma.** It records the order of the king addressed to the touring royal officers (*kula-putras*) such as the *bhatas*, *Bhōjakas* and *Daṇḍanāyakas* employed in the northern subdivision of **Nāngarakaṭaka** that the village (probably **Yappajja** mentioned at the end of line 3) had been granted by him to the Brāhmanas **Dharmasvāmin**[2] and **Bhavasvāmin** of the Śāndilya *gōtra* The record ends here abruptly, the subsequent portion, mentioning the exemptions granted to the donees, the appeal to future rulers, the regnal date and the names of the writer and the *Dūtaka*, being lost.

Unlike most other grants of the Vākātakas, the present inscription does not open with *dṛishṭam* 'seen ' It is not, again, in the usual style of Vākātaka grants which give the genealogy of the reigning king in the beginning Besides, the record is full of grammatical errors Dr Randle therefore conjectured that the engraver's incompetence proved too much for the Vākātaka official and so the plate was rejected before completion of the charter[3] None of these reasons, however, are quite convincing Though the word *dṛishṭam* usually occurs in the beginning of Vākātaka grants, it does not do so invariably[4]. The Riddhapur

---

[1] *N I A*, Vol II, p 177

[2] Randle takes Dharmasvāmin as an epithet of Bhavasvāmin No such epithet, however, occurs elsewhere

[3] *N I A*, Vol II, p 180, n 4

[4] It may be noted that there is no empty space left for it in the beginning of line 1 as in Nos 17 and 18.

plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, for instance, do not contain it For all we know, the later Vākāṭaka princes of the Vatsagulma branch may have purposely shortened the introductory portion of their grants; for we have no copper-plate grants of this branch after Vindhyaśakti II's time As for grammatical and other mistakes, they are noticed in still greater numbers in several genuine grants of the Vākāṭakas It would not therefore be wise to reject this grant as unauthorised or spurious Its importance lies in the fact that it is the only record of Dēvasēna's reign In fact it showed for the first time that **Vatsagulma** was a capital of the Vākāṭakas, which was later confirmed by the discovery of the Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Vātsyagulma** is evidently identical with Vatsagulma which has already been shown to be modern Bāsim in the Akōlā District of Vidarbha **Nāṅgarakataka** probably denoted a territorial division corresponding to the modern district, though the names of such divisions usually ended in *kaṭa* Nāṅgara, its chief town, cannot be satisfactorily identified If *Nāṅgara* is the writer's mistake for *Māṅgara*, the place may be identical with Mangrul, (ancient Māṅgarapura), the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the Akōlā District[1] It lies about 25 miles north by east of Bāsim, on the high road which connects Bāsim with Kāranjā It was therefore situated in the northern subdivision (*uttara-mārga*) as stated in the present inscription It seems to have been an ancient place since a large hoard of more than 1500 coins of the Sātavāhanas was found in its neighbourhood[2] **Yappajja,** if this is the correct name of the donated village, cannot be identified

TEXT[3]

1 स्वस्ति [।*] वात्स्यगुल्मात् [।*] वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीदेवसेनस्य वचना[त्] उत्तरमाग्ग-(र्गे)

2 नाङ्गरकटके अस्मत्सन्तर(क)भटभोजकदण्डनायकाद्या सचरन्तक[4] कुलप्रका(पुत्रा)

3 वक्तव्य(व्या) यथैष (षो)स्माभिग्रा(र्ग्रा)म श(शा)ण्डिल्यसगोत्रस्य धर्म्मस्व(स्वा)मिन(नो) भवस्व(स्वा)मित(नो)[5] यप्पज्जस्स[6]

TRANSLATION

Hail! From **Vātsyagulma**—By the order of the illustrious **Dēvasēna,** the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākāṭakas**—

In **Nāṅgarakaṭaka,** in the Northern subdivision (*mārga*)[7], Our touring Officers of noble birth such as soldiers, *Bhōjakas* and *Daṇḍanāyakas* should be addressed (*as follows*) –

(Line 2) This village **Yappajja** (*has been granted by Us*) to **Dharmasvāmin** of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra* and to **Bhavasvāmin**

(*The subsequent plates of the grant are not forthcoming*)

---

[1] This was first pointed out in my note in *N I A*, Vol II pp 721 f

[2] *J N S.I*, Vol II, pp 83 f

[3] From the facsimile facing p 180 in *N I A*, Vol II

[4] Read सञ्चरन्त

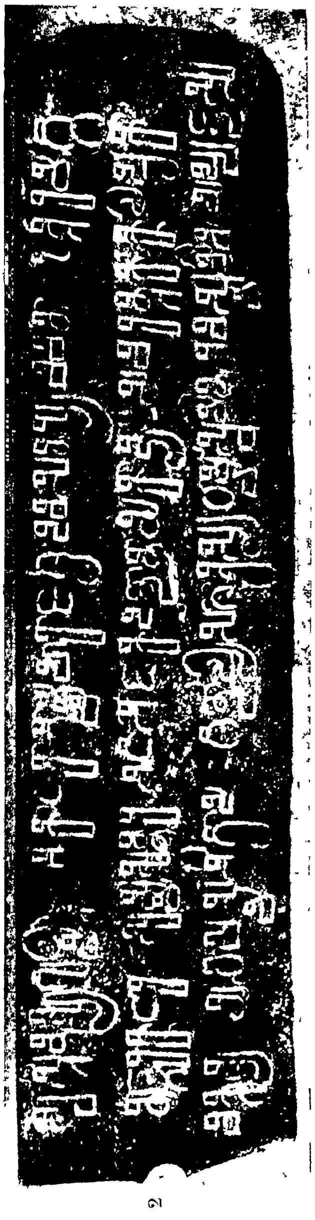
[5] Perhaps शाण्डिल्यसगोत्राय धर्मस्वामिने भवस्वामिने च was intended

[6] This appears to be a Prakrit form. Perhaps यप्पज्ज was the name of the donated village

[7] In the Bāsim plates (No 24 below), line 5, the *Uttaramārga* (northern division) is explicitly stated to be a subdivision of the district Nāndīkata.

INDIA OFFICE PLATE OF DĒVASĒNA

2



2

Scale Twelve-thirteenths

Printed at the Survey of India Offices (P. L. O.)

D. C. Sircar

Reg. No. 3977 E 36-1103 62

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MINISTERS AND FEUDATORIES OF THE VATSAGULMA BRANCH

No 25 Plate XXV

AJAṆṬĀ CAVE INSCRIPTION OF VARĀHADĒVA

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by Dr Bhau Daji, who published an eye-copy of it together with a transcript of its text and a translation in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1862), Vol VII, pp 56 f Dr Bhau Daji noticed in it the names of the kings Vindhyaśakti, Pravarasēna and Dēvasēna, and of their ministers Hastibhōja and Varāhadēva He identified the first two of these kings with the homonymous princes of the Vākāṭaka dynasty who had already become known from the Siwanī plates of Pravarasēna II The inscription was next edited with an introductory note and a translation, but without a facsimile, by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India* (Archaeological Survey of India) (1881), pp 69 f Pandit Bhagvanlal noticed in it the names of the following Vākāṭaka kings—Vindhyaśakti, Pravarasēna, [Rudra]sēna; (a name lost); Dēvasēna, and Harishēna The transcript was prepared by the Pandit with his wonted skill and shows a great improvement over that of Dr Bhau Daji The record was next edited, with a translation and a lithograph, by Dr Buhler in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol IV (1883), pp 124 f and Plate LXVII Dr Buhler's lithograph was made from a facsimile carefully prepared by Pandit Bhagvanlal It seems, however, to have been somewhat worked up by hand Dr Buhler's transcript does not differ much from Pandit Bhagvanlal's, but he noticed two additional names viz, Prithivishēna and Pravarasēna (II) after [Ru]drasēna in the genealogical portion of the record I discussed the contents of the inscription in a paper which I contributed to the fourth session of the Indian History Congress held at Lahore in 1940[1] and later edited it, from an excellent estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India, in the Hyderabad Archaeological Series (1941). The record is edited here from the facsimile published with that article

The inscription is incised on the left-side wall at the extreme end outside the verandah of **Cave XVI** at **Ajaṇṭā** in the Hyderabad State It has suffered a great deal by exposure to weather, especially in the middle of the first eight lines and on the left-hand side the whole way down. Besides, about a dozen *aksharas* have been completely lost in the last two lines at the lower left corner and one or two more in the centre of lines 25 and 26 owing to the flaking off of the surface of the stone

The inscription covers a space 4′ broad and 3′ 6″ high and consists of 27 lines, beautifully written and carefully engraved. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets The boxes at the head of letters are scooped out hollow as in the stone inscription at Dēotēk. The only points that call for notice are as follows:—In initial *ū* the length is indicated by an additional upturned curve added at the base of the vertical; see *ūrddhva-*, line 17, the medial *i* is shown by a curling curve to the left and the medial *ō* by a loop as in *Udīrnna* and *lōka-* both in line 1, medial *au* is bipartite as in *kshamaudāryya-*, line 16, *y* is still tripartite, *l* has in most cases a long vertical, but in some places

[1] *P I H.C*, 1940, pp 79 f

(e g *Lāṭa-*, line 14) it has assumed a diminutive form The **language** is Sanskrit and the inscription is in verse throughout The verses are thirty-two in number As regards **orthography,** we may note the doubling of the consonant after *r* as in *nirvvāpana-*, line 1 and the use of the guttural nasal in stead of *anusvāra* in *vaṅśa-*, line 3 The *upadhmānīya* occurs in lines 2 and 10, and the *jihvāmūlīya* in line 10.

The inscription is one of the minister **Varāhadēva** of the **Vākāṭaka** king **Harishēṇa.** The **object** of it is to record the dedication of a cave-dwelling (*vēśma*) fully decorated with pillars, picture-galleries, sculptures etc to the Buddhist Sangha It is undated, but since Harishēṇa ruled from about 475 A C to 500 A C , it may be referred to the end of the fifth century A C It is noteworthy that Fergusson and Burgess also assigned the Ajaṇṭā cave XVI, where the present record is incised, to about 500 A C on the evidence of the style of its architecture[1]

The inscription falls into two parts The first part comprising the first twenty verses gives the **genealogy** of the reigning king **Harishēṇa** and incidentally names and eulogises **Hastibhōja** and his son (**Varāhadēva**) who as ministers served the Vākāṭaka kings **Dēvasēna** and **Harishēṇa.** The second part describes the cave-dwelling containing a Buddhist temple (*chaitya-mandiram*) and an excellent hall (*maṇḍapa-ratnam*) excavated by **Varāhadēva** which he dedicated to the Buddhist Sangha for the religious merit of his father and mother

The main interest of the inscription lies in the first part which gives the Vākāṭaka genealogy right from Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the family The present inscription describes **Vindhyaśakti** as a *dvija* (Brāhmaṇa) who became renowned on earth, having increased his power in great battles His son **Pravarasēna I** is next glorified in verse 6 as one whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the rays of the crest-jewels of hostile kings

Pravarasēna I's **son** and successor was named and described in verse 7, but owing to the unfortunate mutilation of the record in this part, the name is partially lost Only the latter part of it viz , *-sēna* is clear Bhagvanlal, who first noticed the name, thought that *sēna* was preceded by a faintly traceable form like *dra*, so that the name might have been Bhadrasēna, Chandrasēna, Indrasēna, Rudrasēna, etc In his transcript of the record he adopted the reading *Rudrasēna* evidently because this name occurs soon after that of Pravarasēna I in the Siwanī and Chammak plates of Pravarasēna II, which had been discovered before This reading was also adopted by Buhler, who next edited the present inscription It must, however, be noticed that according to the aforementioned land-grants of Pravarasēna II, Rudrasena I was not the *son* of Pravarasēna I, but was his *grandson,* while the present inscription clearly states that the successor of Pravarasēna (I) was his *son.* We must therefore suppose either that the poet committed a mistake in describing this relationship, or the reading of the royal name adopted by Bhagvanlal and Bühler is incorrect. The former alternative does not appear likely, for the inscription was composed under the direction of the Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa's minister and is, on the whole, very correctly written It is, however, very much abraded in the portion where the name occurs, and therefore a mistake in reading is not unlikely Both Bhagvanlal and Buhler also were not quite certain about this reading, but the former thought that he saw ' a faintly traceable form like *dra* ' If we refer to the lithograph used by both of them, we find that the upper member of the ligature read as *dra* is quite illegible, but there appears a loop below it, which seems to have been taken as the subscript *r* of *dra* There are several instances of the subscript *r* in that lithograph, but in none of them is it denoted by a loop; it is always shown

[1] *The Cave-Temples of India*, p 306

by a hook open to the left The new estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist does not show even this loop The preceding *akshara ru* is of course completely gone as admitted by both Bhagvanlal and Buhler The reading *Rudrasēna* in verse 7 is therefore extremely doubtful

The Bāsim plates name Sarvasēna as the son and successor of the Vākātaka Pravarasēna I who performed four Aśvamēdhas and other sacrifices It may therefore be suggested that the name lost here is **Sarvasena** The reading *Sarvasēnah* would suit the metre as well as *Rudrasēnah* The latter part of the verse would therefore be *Sarvasēnah Pravarasēnasya jita-sarvvasēnas-sutō-bhavat* The resulting *yamaka* would make this reading quite plausible The poet who composed this inscription was fond of using *yamakas* based on proper names as will be seen from the following.—

Line 2—abhivriddha-śaktih . . dāna-śaktih Vindhyaśaktiḥ

7—Pravarasēnas=tasya putro=bhūt=pravar-orjjit-ōdāra-śāsana-pravarah

10–11—Hastibhōjah . dig-gandhahasti-pratimō babhūva

14—Harishēno hari-vikkrama-pratāpah

The description *jita-sarvva-sēnah* of this prince was evidently suggested by his name Sarvasēna[1] We may therefore take it as almost certain that **Pravarasēna I was succeeded by his son Sarvasēna.**

Bhagvanlal did not notice any royal name in the next verse, but Bühler thought that he could read in the middle of line 7 the *aksharas pra*(or *pri*)*thivī* which showed a name like *Pṛithivishēṇa*[2] As he had adopted Bhagvanlal's reading *Rudrasēnah* in the preceding verse, he identified this Prithivīshēna with Prithivīshēna I, whom several land-grants mention as the son and successor of Rudrasēna I We have seen, however, that verse 7 probably mentions the name of Sarvasēna, not of Rudrasēna Besides, the reading *Pṛithivīshēṇah* noticed by Buhler is equally uncertain The *akshara* which he read as *thi* has a tapering top and is open below It cannot therefore be read as *thi*, for in all cases in this inscription, *th* has invariably a round top and is closed at the bottom, see e g *prathitō* in line 15 and *prathita-gun-opabhōga* in line 21 The *akshara* appears to be *śrī*, of which the lower curve representing *r* is indistinct The following *akshara* is clearly *vin* It is followed by clear traces of *dhya.* Especially the elongated curve representing the subscript *y* is unmistakable The two following *aksharas* are almost certainly *sēnah*[3] The name thus appears to be *śrī-Vindhyasēna.* The initial word *sat-putrah* in that verse, which has not been noticed before, shows that **Vindhyasēna** was the son of the preceding king Sarvasēna[4] The Bāsim plates mention Vindhyaśakti (II) as the son and successor of Sarvasēna Vindhyaśakti and Vindhyasēna are plainly identical The Bāsim plates thus corroborate the reading *śrī-Vindhyasēnah* in verse 8 The second half of the verse which is very badly mutilated indicates that he won a victory over the lord of **Kuntala.**

The next verse (9) was read by Bhagvanlal as *Pravarasēnasya putrō=bhūt* etc He therefore thought that it described another son of Pravarasēna I The correct reading *Pravarasēnas=tasya putro=bhut* was first given by Buhler It shows that **Pravarasēna (II)** was the next king Buhler identified this Pravarasēna (whom he took to be the son and

[1] Otherwise, there is no special point in saying that he conquered all armies One would rather expect an expression like *jita-sarvva-lōkah* or *jita-sarvva-rājah*

[2] *A S W I*, No 4, p 125, n 1

[3] They were doubtfully read as *shēnah* by Buhler

[4] Buhler conjecturally supplied *tanayas=tasya,* but there is no space for so many *aksharas* before *pārthiv-ēndrasya* in line 7 and the reading does not suit the metre

successor of Prithivīshēna I) with Pravarasēna II, whose Siwanī and Chammak plates had already been discovered and deciphered. This identification also cannot be upheld. As shown above, verse 8 does not mention Prithivīshēna, but Vindhyasēna. Secondly, even if we adopt Bühler's reading *Prithivīshēnah* in verse 8, we find that Pravarasēna II was not the *son* of Prithivīshena I, but was his grandson, for his father was Rudrasēna II, the son-in-law of the famous Gupta king Chandragupta II -Vikramāditya. Pravarasēna, mentioned in verse 9 as the son and successor of Vindhyasēna (or Vindhyaśakti II) must therefore be distinguished from the homonymous Vākātaka prince who is known from more than a dozen grants discovered in Vidarbha.

Verse 10 introduces **another prince** who evidently succeeded his father Pravarasēna II, mentioned in the preceding verse, but whose name cannot now be determined owing to the mutilation of the first half of that verse. He is said to have come to the throne when he was only eight years old and to have ruled his kingdom well. This prince is not known from any other record.

Verse 11 mentions **Dēvasēna** as the son and successor of the prince described in verse 10. He is also known from the India Office plate edited before[1]

Verses 12-16 incidentally describe **Hastibhōja,** a capable minister of **Dēvasēna.** These verses also have suffered much mutilation, but what remains of them is sufficient to give us a fair idea of his accomplishments. We are told that he was an abode of merits, had a broad and stout chest, was obliging, modest, loving and affable, and destroyed the allies of his enemies. He governed the people well and was accessible and dear to them like their father, mother and friend. Entrusting the cares of government to him, the king (Dēvasēna) gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures.

Verse 17 proceeds with the royal genealogy and describes **Harishēna,** the son and successor of Dēvasēna. The following verse which describes his conquests is badly mutilated. The first part of it mentions the countries of **Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kōsala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa** and **Andhra,** evidently in connection with the conquests of Harishēna.

Verses 19-20 eulogize a son of **Hastibhōja** who became a minister of Harishēna. His name which must have occurred in the second half of verse 19 is now lost, but from verse 30 we can conjecture that it was **Varāhadēva.** He is said to have possessed the virtues of liberality, forgiveness and generosity, and to have ruled the country righteously. Realising that life, youth, wealth and happiness are transitory, he excavated a cave in honour of his father and mother for the use of the best of ascetics. Verse 24 described the cave-dwelling (*vēśma*) as adorned with windows, doors, beautiful picture-galleries[2], ledges and statues of the nymphs of Indra, and supported by lovely pillars. It contained a temple of Buddha and was provided with a large reservoir of water and a shrine of the lord of the Nāgas. This description exactly applies to cave XVI where the inscription has been incised. Verse 30 states that Varāhadēva made over the cave to the Community of Monks. The last two verses (31-32) express the hope that the cave containing the excellent *maṇḍapa* dedicated to the three *ratnas* (i e , Buddha, Dharma and Sangha) would last forever and that the world would be freed from all blemishes and enter the peaceful and noble state which is devoid of sorrow and pain.

[1] No 24, above

[2] The reference to picture-galleries in v 24 was missed by both Bhagvanlal and Bühler as the former took *suvīthi* to mean 'splendid verandahs' and the latter, 'beautiful terraces'. The *Trikāndaśesha* (cited by Ghanaśyāma in his commentary on the *Uttararāmacharita*, Act, I) gives *vīthikā* (which is the same as *vīthi*) in the sense of 'a row of pictures'

As for the **localities** mentioned in this record, **Kuntala** generally denoted the country between the Bhīmā and the Vēdavatī, including the Sātārā and Shōlāpur Districts as well as some Kanarese districts of the Bombay, Mysore and Madras States. According to some writers, however, Kuntala stretched much farther to the north. Rājaśēkhara seems to identify Kuntala with a part of Mahārāshtra including Vidarbha[1]. Soddhala, the author of the *Udayasundarīkathā*, states that Pratishthāna (modern Paithan in the former Haidarabad State) on the Godāvarī was the capital of Kuntala[2]. **Avanti** is Western Malwa, the capital of which was Ujjain (also called Avanti). **Kaliṅga** comprised the country along the eastern coast between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī. **Kōsala** is evidently Dakshina Kōsala, corresponding to modern Chhattisgadh and the adjoining parts of the Orissa State. The exact location of **Trikūta** was long uncertain. From the description in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* it was of course known that the mountain Trikūta after which the country was named was situated in Aparānta (North Kōnkan)[3]. The dynasty of the Traikūtakas was also known to have held parts of Kōnkan, Southern Gujarāt and Northern Mahārāshtra. But which part of the Western Ghāts was designated Trikūta was not known. The Añjanērī plates mention Pūrva-Trikūta *vishaya* (Eastern Trikūta District) in connection with certain taxes levied in favour of a temple situated in the Nāsik District[4]. Trikūta seems therefore to have comprised the country to the west of Nāsik. **Lāta** generally signifies Central and Southern Gujarat, between the Mahī and the Tāpī, but in some records it is said to have included the territory to the north of the Mahī as far as Kairā[5]. Finally, **Andhra** is the well-known name of the Telugu-speaking country to the south of the Godāvarī.

TEXT[6]

1 उदीर्ण्णलोकत्रयदोषवह्निनिर्व्वापण(ण)–⏑–⏑–⏑–– । ⏓–⏑–––⏑[य*]ति[7] प्रणम्य पूर्व्वां
प्रवक्ष्ये क्षितिपानुपूर्व्वी[म्[8] ॥१॥*]
2 [म]हाविमर्द्देष्वभिवृद्धशक्ति क्रुद्धस्सुरैरप्यनिवार्य्य[वीर्य्य ।*] ⏓–⏑–– रणदानशक्ति द्विजः-
प्रकाशो भुवि विन्ध्यश[क्ति] [॥२॥*]
3 पुरन्दरोपेन्द्रसमप्रभाव स्वबाहुवीर्य्या[र्ज्जि]तस[र्व्वलोक ।]⏓–⏑–––⏑–– टकाना[9] बभूव
वाकाटकवङ्श(वंश)केतु [॥३॥*]
4 रणे[षु][10] हर्य्युद्धतरेणुजालसञ्छादितार्क्कस्स च [कर्म्म?]–– [।*] ⏓–⏑–––⏑–– नगतीन्
कृत्वा[भिवाद?]प्रवणाश्चकार[11][॥४॥*]
5 [विनि]र्जितारि[स्सुरराजकार्य्ये] चकार पुण्येषु पर प्रयत्न(त्नम्) [।*]⏓–⏑–––⏑––⏑
––,⏓–⏑–––⏑––⏑–– [12][॥५॥*] [अरि*]नरेन्द्रमौलिविन्यस्तमणिकिरणलीढ[क्र-
माम्बुज [।*]

[1] Rājaśēkhara, *Bālarāmāyana*, Act III, verses 50-52, Act X, verses 74-75

[2] *Udayasundarīkathā* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), pp 21 and 83

[3] *Raghuvaṁśa*, canto IV, v 59

[4] *Ep Ind*, Vol XXV, p 40. *C I I*, Vol IV, p 149

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol XII, p 40

[6] From the facsimile published in the *Ep Ind*, Vol XXVI, between pages 142 and 143

[7] This word was not noticed by the previous editors. The inscription in Ajantā Cave XVII (No 27) refers to the Buddha as मुनि

[8] Metre of this and the next two verses *Upajāti*

[9] These three *aksharas* are fairly clear. The complete word may have been उद्धृतकटकानाम

[10] This was the reading of Bhagvanlal. Buhler read स्वहर्य्य-

[11] Metre *Upajāti*

[12] Metre *Upēndravajrā* or *Upajāti*

6 प्रवरसेनस्तस्य पुत्रोभूद्विकसन्नवेन्दीवरेक्षण [1] [।।६।।*] रविमयूख —⏑—⏓⏓⏓, ⏓⏓—⏑—
—⏑—⏑⏓[।*] [सर्व्व]सेन [2] प्रवरसेनस्य जितसर्व्वसेन[स्सु]तो[भ]वत्[।।७।।*]
7 [सत्पुत्र [3]] पार्त्थिवेन्द्रस्य प्रशशास धर्म्मेण मेदिनी[म् ।*] कुन्तलेन्द्र वि[जित्य] —⏓⏓⏓
श्रीविध्यसेन [4] ⏑—⏑⏓ [5][।।८।।*] प्रवरसेनस्तस्य पुत्रोभूत्प्रवरोर्जितोदारशासन प्रवर[।*]
8 ⏓⏓⏑—⏑—⏑—⏓⏓⏓, ⏓⏓—⏑—⏑—⏑—⏓[।।९।।*] तस्यात्मज —⏑⏑—⏑——,
⏓—⏑—⏑—⏑—⏑——[।*]⏓—⏑—⏑—⏑ मवाप्य राज्यमष्टाब्दको य प्र[शशास]
स[म्यक् [6]*] [।।१०।।*]
9 [तस्या*][त्मजो]भून्नरदेव ——, ⏓—⏑—⏑— भुवि देवसेन [।*] यस्योपभोगैर्ल्ललितैर्व्वि-
——⏓,-देवराजस्य ⏑—⏑— भू [।।११।।*] पुण्यानुभावात्क्षितिपस्य
10 [सम्य[क्*] ⏓—⏑—⏑—⏑—⏑——[।*] ⏓—⏑—⏑—⏑ गुणाधिवास ⏓—⏑ कोशो[7]
भुवि हस्तिभोज [।।१२।।*] प्र ⏑—⏑—ᵡपृथुपीनवक्षास्सरोरुहाक्षᵡक्षपि-
11 [ता*][रिपक्ष ।[8]] ⏓—⏑—⏑—⏑—⏑ बाहुर्द्दिग्गन्धहस्तिप्रतिमो बभूव[9] [।।१३।।*] हितो
विनीत [प्रणयप्रधानो] मनोनुकूलोनुविधानवर्त्ती [।*] निरत्यय
12 —⏑—⏑—⏑——, ⏓—⏑—⏑—⏑—⏑ करच[10] [।।१४।।*] त[थै*]व लोकस्य हिताशय-
त्वात्सुखेन सम्यक्परिपालनेन [।*] पितेव मातेव सखेव नित्य प्रियोभिगम्यश्च बभूव
13 [सत्यम्*[11]] [।।१५।।*] ⏓—⏑—⏑—⏑—⏑——, ⏓—⏑—⏑—⏑—⏑——[।*] स्वस्थस्स-
मावेश्य स तत्र राजा ससञ्ज भोगेषु यथेष्टचेष्ट [12] [।।१६।।*] अथ तस्य सुतो बभू-
14 व राजा [।*] हरिरामहरस्मरेन्दुकान्ति[13]र्हरिषेणो हरिविक्क्रम-
प्रताप [14] [।।१७।।*] स कुन्तलावन्तिकलिङ्गकोसलत्रिकूटलाटान्ध्र-
15 ⏑—⏑ जानिमान् [।*] ⏑—⏑—⏑—⏑⏑ शौर्य्यविश्रुतानपि स्वनिर्द्देशगुणाति —⏑—[15][।।१८।।*]
प्रथितो भुवि हस्तिभोजसूनुस्सचिवस्तस्य महीपते[र्ब्बभूव ।] सकलक्षिति-
16 · · · · · · · · · · · · [16][।।१९।।*] [राज[17]]प्रजेष्ट स्थिरधीर-
चेतास्त्यागक्षमौदार्य्यगुणैरुपेत[*] धर्म्मेण धर्म्मप्रवणश्शशास देश यश पुण्यगुणाशु-
17 ——[18][।।२०।।*] विशेषत · प्रति पुण्योपचय पर चकार [।*] यत
ऊर्ध्वमिमा सहायधर्म्मा [निरतो] लोकगुरौ चकार काराम्[19] [।।२१।।*] आयुर्व[योवि]त्तसुखाणि-
[नि]

[1] Metre of verses 6-9 is a species of *mātrāsamaka* as stated by Kiehorn *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, p 27. Dr. Venkatasubbaiah calls it *Gītikā* *J O R*, Vol IX, pp 46 f and 179 f

[2] Bhagvanlal and Buhler proposed to read this name as रुद्रसेन See above, p. 105

[3] This word was omitted in all previous transcripts

[4] Buhler proposed to read the name of this prince as पृथिवीषेण See above, p 105

[5] Read नृपोभवत्

[6] Metre of verses 10-12—*Indravajrā* or *Upajāti*

[7] Perhaps the word was श्रीहस्तिकोशो Hastikośa, as the designation of an officer, occurs in the Godāvarī copper-plate grant of Prithivīmūla *J B B R A S*, Vol XVI, p 118.

[8] These three *aksharas* are fairly clear

[9] Metre *Upajāti*

[10] Metre *Upēndravajrā* or *Upajāti*.

[11] Metre *Upēndravajrā*

[12] Metre *Upajāti*

[13] Bhagvanlal and Buhler read स्मरेव कान्ति which is ungrammatical Buhler's proposal to emend it as स्मरेन्द्रकान्ति is unnecessary as the *akshara* following रे is clearly न्दु

[14] Metre *Aupachchhandasika*

[15] Metre *Vamśatha*

[16] Metre *Aupachchhandasika.*

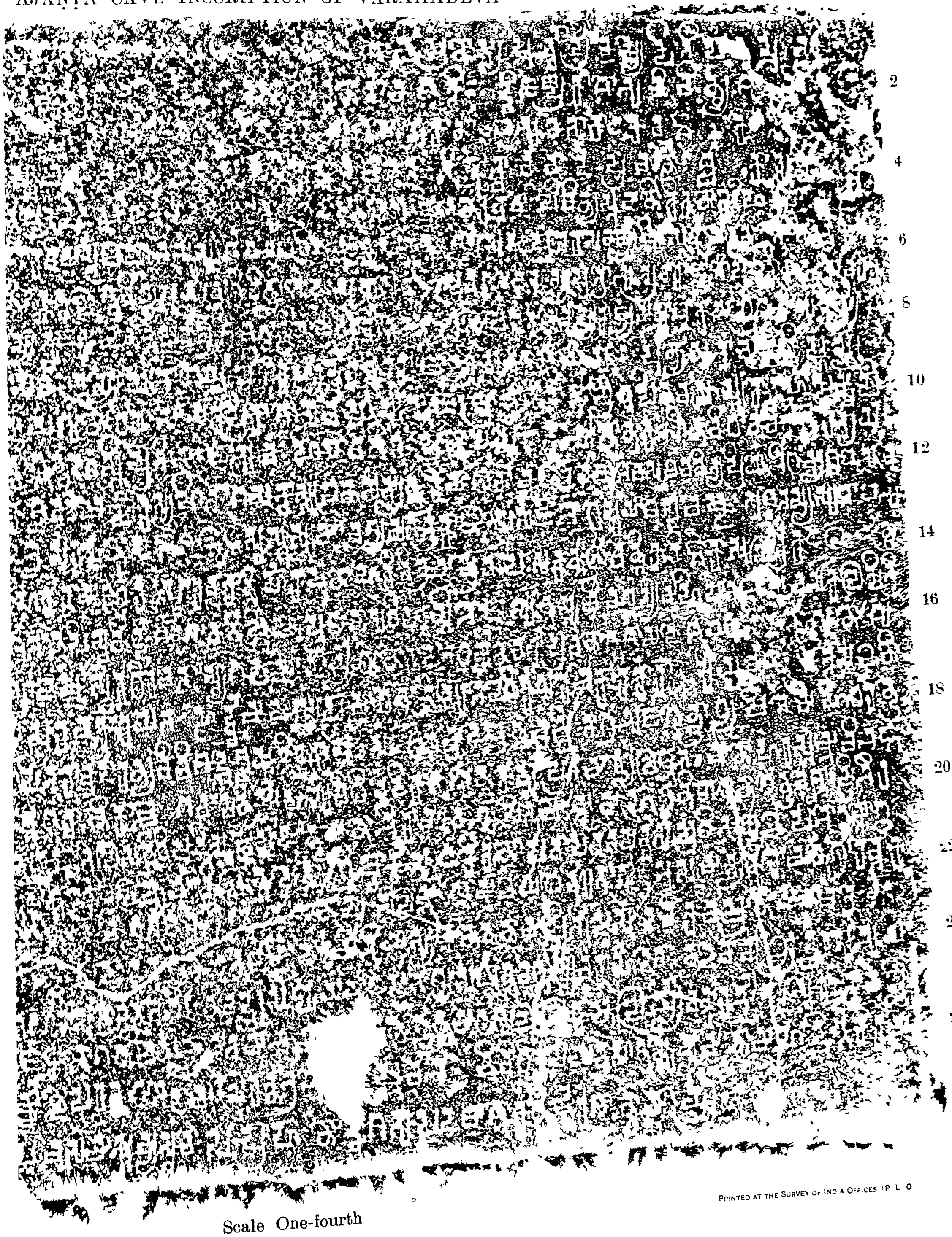
[17] This word, though omitted by previous editors, is fairly clear in the new estampage.

[18] Restore शुभ्र Metre *Indravajrā*

[19] Metre. *Aupachchhandasika.*

AJAṆṬĀ CAVE INSCRIPTION OF VARĀHADĒVA

Plate XXV



Scale One-fourth

PRINTED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES (P. L. O.)

18 — —, ⏓ — ⏑ — — — ⏑ ⏑ [चञ्च]लानि [।*] उ[द्दिश्य] मातापितरावुदार न्यवीशद्वेश्म यती-
[न्द्रसेव्यम्][1] [।।२२।।*] [सजला]म्बुद[वृ]न्दलम्बिताग्रे[2] भुजगेन्द्राध्युषिते महीधरेन्द्रे [।*]
19 · [वी?]रश्रीपतिना धरानि[3]कुञ्जे[4][।।२३।।*] गवाक्षनिर्य्यूह-
सुवीथिवेदिका[सुरे]न्द्रकन्याप्रतिमाद्यलङ्कृतम् [।*] मनोहरस्तम्भविभङ्ग-
20 — ⏑ —[5] [नि]वेशिताभ्यन्तरचैत्यमन्दिरम्[6] [।।२४।।*] ⏓ — ⏑ — — तलसन्निविष्ट [वितान] — —
⏑ मनोभिराम(मम्) [।*] ⏑ — प्रकामाम्बुमहानिधान[7] नागेन्द्रवेश्मादिभिर-
21 ⏑ — ⏑ —[8] [।।२५।।*] — — — [र्म्म]ह[ति] समीरणे समन्तात् — — — विविधविलास — ⏑
— — [।*] ग्रीष्मा[र्क्कस्य च] किरणोपतापतप्त सर्वर्तुप्रथितगुणोपभोगयोग्य[म्][9] [।।२६।।*]
22 · सुरेन्द्रमन्दिराणा रुचिमन्मन्दरकन्द[रानुरूपम् ।] ·
जनैर्यथेप्सित(तम्)[10] [।।२७।।*] असमस्य विरोचनं गिरेर्विक-
23 श्रमान्तकतया निवहेन ·
[।।२८।।*] — — विशालमिति यस्य जनेन नाम प्रीतिप्रसादविकचप्रणयेन चक्रे [।*] एतस्य
24 — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —[11]र्लयन सुरेन्द्रमौलिप्रभोपचित[मङ्गलसग्रहाय[12]] [।।२९।।*] निवेद्य सङ्घाय
⏑ — ⏑[13]भक्त्या सबन्धुवर्ग्गस्स वराहदेव [।*] नृदेवसौख्यान्यनुभूय — —[14]
25 — — ण[15] शास्ता सुगतप्रशस्त[16] [।।३०।।*] सान्द्राम्भोदभुजङ्गभोग ⏑ — —[17]र्य्यावित् ⏑ — — — ⏑
— , — — नूत्नमन शिलालकपिलैर्य्यावित्करैर्भा[स्कर] । तावच्छे-
26 ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — — — — — ⏑ — से[व्य]तामन्तर्मण्डपरत्नमेतदमल रत्नत्र[यो*]द्भावि[त]-
(तम्)[18] [।।३१।।*] विविधलयनसानुस्सेव्यमानो महद्भिर्ग्गिरिरय-
27 ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ ⏑ द्धयः [।*] जगदपि च समस्त व्यस्तदोषप्रहाणा[द्वि]शतु पदमशोकं
निर्ज्वर शान्तमार्य्यम्[19] [।।३२।।*]

TRANSLATION[20]

(Verse 1) Having bowed to the sage (Buddha) who extinguishes the rising flames of the sins of the three worlds I shall give a eulogy about a succession of kings

---

1 Metre· *Upajāti*

2 This first quarter of the verse has been read by me for the first time The reading उद्धिताग्रे given by Bhagvanlal and Buhler does not give any good sense

3 Bhagvanlal and Buhler read शरा.

4 Metre *Aupachchhandasika*

5 Bühler doubtfully read मेदुरम्, but the *aksharas* are completely gone Read भूषितम्

6 This last quarter, which I have read completely for the first time, shows that the *Chaitya-mandira* was not structural and outside the cave as supposed by Burgess, but that it was the shrine of the gigantic statue of the Buddha at the back of the cave. Compare निवेशितान्तर्मुनिराजचैत्यम् in line 24 of inscription No. 27.

7 Bhagvanlal and Buhler read -ञ्चाम्बुमहानिधानम् which does not yield a good sense The expression प्रकामाम्बुमहानिधानम् occurs in line 26 of inscription No. 27 also

8 Read -रप्यलङ्कृतम् Metre *Upajāti*

9 Metre *Praharshinī*

10 Metre of this and the next verse *Aupachchhandasika*

11 The last two of the missing *aksharas* may have been गिरे

12 Metre *Vasantatilakā*

13 Read सुवेश्म.

14 Read सम्यक्

15 Read धर्म्मेण.

16 Metre *Upajāti*.

17 Read निकरै-.

18 Metre *Śārdūlavikridita*

19 Metre· *Mālinī*.

20 In this translation I have derived some help from Dr. Buhler's rendering, though I have differed from him in the interpretation of certain passages

(V 2). There was a Brāhmana (*lit*, a twice-born man) on earth (*named*) **Vindhyśakti,** whose strength increased in great battles, whose valour, when he was enraged, was irresistible even by gods, (*and*) who was mighty in fighting and charity

(V 3) He, whose majesty was like that of Indra and Upēndra (Vishnu), who, by the might of his arm, conquered the whole world (*and*) [who destroyed the up-rooted thorns][1], became the standard of the **Vākātaka** race

(V 4) He, eclipsing in battles the sun with the masses of dust raised by (*the hoofs of*) his horses, making the enemies made them intent on salutation to him

(V 5) Having subdued his enemies for (*accomplishing*) the work of the gods, he made a great effort to acquire religious merit

(V 6) His son was **Pravarasēna (I),** whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the rays of jewels worn on the heads of hostile kings (*and*) whose eyes resembled fresh, blooming lotuses

(V. 7) The rays of the sun **(Sarvasēna)**[2] was Pravarasēna (I)'s son who defeated all armies

(V 8) The illustrious **Vindhyasēna,**[3] the noble son of the lord of kings, governed the earth righteously, having conquered **the lord of Kuntala** .

(V. 9) His son was **Pravarasēna (II),** who became exalted by his excellent, powerful and liberal rule

(V 10) His son who, having obtained the kingdom when eight years old, ruled well

(V 11) His son became king who, on earth, was known as **Dēvasēna** by whose lovely enjoyments the earth of the lord of gods[4]

(V 12) Through the greatness of the religious merit of (*that*) king properly . (*there*) was **Hastibhōja,** the abode of excellences, the illustrious Commander of the Elephant Force on the earth[5]

(V. 13) He, who had a broad and stout chest and lotus-like eyes, (*and*) who destroyed the partisans of his enemies, (*who had*) arms resembled a scent-elephant stationed in a quarter

(V 14) Obliging, modest, loving, agreeable, obedient to (*the king's*) wishes, . faultlessly . ..

(V 15) So also, on account of his being a well-wisher of the world as well as by his happy and excellent rule, he was, indeed, always dear and accessible (*to the people*) like (*their*) father, mother and friend

(V 16) The king, having entrusted (*the government of the kingdom*) to him, became free from care and engaged himself in the enjoyment of pleasures, acting as he liked

(V 17) Then his son became king .. **Harishēna,** who, in loveliness, resembled Indra[6], Rāma, Hara, Cupid, and the moon, and who was brave and spirited like a lion

(V 18) He [conquered], **Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kōsala, Trikūta, Lāta, Andhra,** which, though very famous for valour

---

[1] i.e , who exterminated wicked people

[2] Bhagvanlal and Buhler read the name of this prince as *Rudrasēna* See above, p 105

[3] Buhler read *Prithivishēna* as the name of this prince See above, p 105

[4] Perhaps the sense is that the earth vied with the world of the gods '

[5] *Hastikōsha* seems to be a technical official title as in the Godāvarī copper-plate grant of Prithivīmūla. Fleet took it to mean an official who kept the purse and made disbursements on account of the establishment of elephants *J B B R A S*, Vol XVI, p 119

[6] *Hari* of the text should be taken to mean ' Indra ', not ' Vishnu ', as Rāma, an incarnation of Vishnu, is separately named

(V 19) The son of **Hastibhōja,** renowned on earth, became the minister of that king whole earth

(V 20) Beloved by the king and the subjects, he, who was of staid and firm mind, endowed with the virtues of liberality, forgiveness and generosity, and intent on (*the performance of*) religious duty, governed the country righteously, (*shining*) brightly with the rays of his fame, religious merit and virtue

(V 21) He amassed a large store of religious merit for . especially, after which he, [regarding] the sacred law as his (*only*) companion, made this sacred dwelling,[1] being extremely devoted to (*the Buddha*), the teacher of the world

(V 22) [Realising that] life, youth wealth and happiness are transitory, . he, for the sake of his father and mother, caused to be made this excellent dwelling to be occupied by the best of ascetics

(V 23) On the best of mountains, on which hang multitudes of water-laden clouds (*and*) which is inhabited by the lords of serpents in the thickets of the slopes (?) of which . by the lord of the goddess of heroism

(V 24) [The dwelling] which is adorned with windows, doors, beautiful picture-galleries[2], ledges, statues of the nymphs of Indra and the like, which is ornamented with beautiful pillars and stairs, and has a temple of the Buddha inside

(V 25) Which is situated on the top (*of the mountain*), appears attractive a canopy, which is provided with a large reservoir of abundant water and is also ornamented with a shrine of the lord of the Nāgas[3] and the like

(V 26) various pleasures in a fierce wind blowing all round warmed by the heat of the rays of the summer sun and affording enjoyment of well-known comforts in all seasons.

(V 27) [Which resembles] the palaces of the lord of gods and is similar to a cave in the lovely Mandara mountain as desired by the people

(V 28) which shines on (*the slopes of*) this matchless mountain since it removes fatigue

(V 29) The cave on this (*mountain*) . clothed in the brilliance of Indra's crown, which the people, with their love expanding through joy and gratification, have named **-viśāla**[4].

(V 30). Having presented (*the cave*) with devotion to the Community of Monks, **Varāhadēva** together with the multitude of his relatives, having enjoyed royal pleasures, ruled righteously, being praised like Sugata (i e. the Buddha)

(V 31) As long as with the multitude of the hoods of serpents resembling crowding clouds as long as the sun [shines] with rays red like fresh red arsenic,—even so long may this spotless cave containing an excellent hall (*mandapa*) dedicated to the three *ratnas*, be enjoyed!

(V 32) [May] this mountain, the peak of which contains various (types of) caves, which is inhabited by great people and may the whole world also, getting rid of its manifold sins, enter that tranquil and noble state, free from sorrow and pain!

---

1 *Kārā* seems to have been used here in the unusual sense of 'a place of worship ' It may be noted that *kāra* in Pali means ' an act of worship ' or ' homage ' Buhler translated, ' He made a prison (?) all round for the teacher of the world '

2 *Su-vīthi* was translated as 'splendid verandahs' by Bhagvanlal and as ' beautiful terraces ' by Bühler It probably refers to the picture-galleries in the cave Cf *vīthikā* used in the *Uttararāmacharita*, Act I Burgess thought that the *chaitya-mandiram* must be structural and outside; but it undoubtedly refers to the shrine containing a colossal statue of the Buddha at the back of the cave

3 This refers to the shrine of the Nāga Rāja 'in the staircase leading down from the front of the cave'.

4 Cave XVI seems to have borne a name ending in *viśāla*

No 26. Plate XXVI

GHATŌTKACHA CAVE INSCRIPTION OF VARĀHADĒVA

THIS inscription was first published with an English translation, but without any facsimile plate, by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India* (Archaeological Survey of Western India) (1881), pp 88 f[1] He gave a fairly correct transcript of the text and pointed out that Hastibhōja, mentioned in line 10, was probably a minister of the Vākātaka king Dēvasēna He further identified Dēvarāja mentioned in line 13 with the homonymous minister of a king of Aśmaka, mentioned in line 10 of the inscription in Cave XVII at Ajantā, and on the basis of this identification, conjectured that the Ghatōtkacha cave was of a somewhat later date than the Ajantā caves XVI, XVII and XXVI[2]. The inscription was next edited with a lithograph and an English translation by Dr G Bühler in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol IV (1883), pp 138 f and Pl LX. The lithograph was prepared from an estampage taken by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, and appears to have been somewhat worked up by hand Dr Buhler's transcript and translation differed in some points from those of Pandit Bhagvanlal He declared himself against the identification of Dēvarāja with the Aśmaka minister of the same name, proposed by Pandit Bhagvanlal, and apparently took Dēvarāja to be Indra, the lord of gods[3] Buhler further pointed out that this ministerial family belonged to the Vallūras, which, he thought, was apparently a sub-division of the Malabār Brāhmanas[4] The transcripts of Bhagvanlal and Buhler led to certain misconceptions regarding the original home of this family I therefore published a revised edition of the record with a facsimile prepared from estampages supplied by the Archaeological Department of the Hyderabad State It is re-edited here from the same estampages

The present inscription is incised on the left end of the back wall of the verandah of what is known as the **Ghatōtkacha Cave** at **Gulwādā,** 11 miles west of Ajaṇtā It seems to have originally consisted of twenty-two lines, but the last four lines are now almost completely defaced. Of the remaining eighteen lines, again, only the first ten can be read more or less completely, but a major portion of the next eight lines on the right-hand side is now irrecoverably lost owing to the decay of the stone on which they were engraved The inscription is, however, the only record which gives a complete genealogy of Varāhadēva, the minister of the Vākātaka king Harishēna, and this circumstance invests it with considerable importance I have tried to decipher it as much as is possible in its present defaced condition

---

[1] The Ghatōtkacha cave where the inscription is incised was first brought to notice by Captain Rose and described by Surgeon W H Bradley, but the present inscription does not appear to have been deciphered before 1881 Dr Burgess called it an inscription of Aśmaka princes, evidently relying on the account given by Pandit Bhagvanlal

[2] Bhagvanlal gave the following genealogy of Dēvarāja Hastibhōja, (his son) Varāhadeva, (his son) Bhavirāja, and (his son) Dēvarāja According to him, Dēvarāja was the great-grandson of Hastibhōja and grandson of Varāhadēva The Ajantā caves XVI and XVII were, however, excavated during the reign of the Vākātaka king Harishēna, whose minister was Varāhadēva Cave XXVI was excavated by a Buddhist Bhikshu in honour of Bhavirāja, a minister of the king of Aśmaka

[3] As shown below, Dēvarāja in line 13 in none other than the Vākātaka king Dēvasēna.

[4] This view rests on the reading *Malayē* in line 7, which, as shown below, is extremely doubtful. See below, p 116, n 8

The inscription seems to have originally covered a space, 4′ broad by 2′ 4″ high. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabet, generally resembling those of the Vākātaka inscriptions in Caves XVI and XVII at Ajantā. The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows:—The medial *ū* (long) is denoted by two horizontal strokes added to the vertical on the right in some cases and on the left in others, see *gurūṇām*, line 1, and *Vallūra-*, line 3. In the case of *bhū*, on the other hand, the vowel is indicated by turning the vertical upwards to the right and adding a horizontal stroke to it, see *babhūva*, line 9; *t* is unlooped, while *n* shows a loop; *y* is tripartite except when it is subscript; the vertical stroke of *l* is invariably turned sharply to the left; a final consonant is indicated by its small size and a horizontal line at the top, see *tasmāt*, line 9. The sign for the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in line 5 and 9, and that for the *upadhmānīya* in lines 4, 5 and 10.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and the whole record is metrically composed. Each line of it contains one verse. The metres used in it are *Indravajrā*, *Upajāti*, *Āryā*, *Pushpitāgrā* and *Vasantatilakā*.[1] The record is composed in a simple and graceful style, generally free from solecisms. The only form which calls for notice is *āsa*, which, contrary to Pāṇini, II, 4, 52, is used in line 5 as an independent verb of the perfect tense.[2] The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities of the reduplication of a consonant after *r* and the use of the guttural nasal for *anusvāra*, see *vaṅśō*, line 3, and *vaṅśajāsu*, line 6.

The **object** of the inscription was apparently to record the excavation of the *Vihāra* cave by a minister of the **Vākātakas** whose name is unfortunately not preserved completely, but who, as shown below, was **Varāhadēva,** the son of **Hastibhōja.** The record opens with a verse in praise of the **Buddha,** who is described as the sage among sages and the teacher among teachers, who was a store of marvels. The second verse describes **Dharma** and **Gaṇa** (or Sangha), the other two members of the Buddhist trinity. With verse 3 begins the genealogy of the ministerial family. There is, we are told, a great race of excellent Brāhmanas called **Vallūras,** who are well-known in the south (V. 3). In it was born **Yajñapati,** who in learning resembled the great primeval sages, Bhrigu, Atri, Garga and Angiras (V. 4). His son was **Dēva,** who was a capable, learned and active statesman and on account of whom the whole kingdom together with the king performed their respective religious duties (V. 5). His son was **Sōma,** who took wives of the Kshatriya as well as the Brāhmana caste.[3] From the Kshatriya wife he obtained a handsome son named **Ravi,** who, possessing marks of royalty on his person, established his sway over the whole territory (V. 7). From other wives of the Brāhmana caste, Sōma obtained sons learned in the Vedas, whose habitation **Vallūra** was even then (i.e. at the time of the inscription) well-known in the south.

Ravi, who, as stated before, was born of a Kshatriya wife of Sōma, had a son named **Pravara.** The latter's son was **Śrī-Rāma,** who had a son named **Kīrti.** Kīrti's son was **Hastibhōja** (V. 9). Hastibhōja distinguished himself by his ability during the reign of the

---

[1] Buhler, who missed some of the *aksharas* in lines 13-18, thought that the metre of the inscription was *Upajāti* throughout. This is incorrect, for, as he admitted, the readings in these lines do not suit the metre. The metre, which is *Upajāti* up to v. 12 with the single exception of v. 3 (which is in *Indravajrā*), changes from v. 13.

[2] Kālidāsa, who flourished slightly earlier, uses *āsa* as an independent verb in his *Kumārasambhava*, canto I, v. 35. For an attempt to justify the form, see Vāmana's *Kāvyālankārasūtravritti*, V, 2, 27.

[3] Such *anulōma* marriages were allowed by ancient Smritis. Cf. *Manusmriti*, III, 13. For a similar historical instance, see the Jōdhpur inscription of Pratīhāra Bāuka, which in v. 7 mentions that the Brāhmana Harichandra married wives 'of the Brāhmana and Kshatriya castes. From the former he had Brāhmana sons and from the latter drinkers of wine' (*i.e.*, Kshatriyas). *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 95.

Vākāṭaka king **Dēvasēna** (V 10) The next two verses (VV 11-12) which eulogised Hastibhōja are unfortunately very much mutilated Verse 13 commences with *atha* which indicates the introduction of a new subject[1] It mentions a son of **Dēvarāja,** named **Harishēna**[2]. He is plaintly identical with Dēvasēna's son Harishēna, the great Vākātaka king during whose reign the Ajantā caves XVI, XVII and XIX were excavated Bhagwanlal and Buhler, who could not decipher the two words *Dēvarāja-sūnur=Harishēnō*, missed completely the historical information given by this verse. The former identified this Dēvarāja with a minister of an Aśmaka king, while the latter thought that *dēvarāja* was no personal name at all[3]. Verse 14 seems to have continued the eulogy of Harishēna The next verse (15), which, like V 13, commences with *atha* seems to have resumed the description of Hastibhōja from V 12 Verse 16 refers to several sons[4], apparently of Hastibhōja, perhaps in connection with a description of Varāhadēva, who succeeded his father as the Chief Minister of Harishēna His name is partially preserved in line 18 The lower part of the inscription which probably eulogised Varāhadēva and recorded the excavation of the Ghatōtkacha cave is completely lost.

As Dr Buhler observed, the wording of V 5 makes it probable that Dēva who is eulogised therein held the office of Prime Minister The king whom he served is not named, but in view of what has been said above, it would not probably be wrong to infer that his master belonged to the Vākātaka dynasty The ministers and the contemporary Vākātaka kings whom they served may therefore be stated as follows —

Ministers	*Contemporary* **Vākātaka Kings** (*with approximate dates of accession*)
Yajñapati	
Dēva	Vindhyaśakti (250 A C)
Sōma	Pravarasēna I (270 A C)
Ravi	Sarvasēna (330 A C)
Pravara	Vindhyasēna (355 A C)
Śrī Rāma	Pravarasēna II (400 A C)
Kīrti	(Name lost) (410 A C)
Hastibhōja	Devasēna (450 A C)
Varāhadēva	Harishēna (475 A C)

This ministerial family bore the name of **Vallūra,** which, as V 8 shows, was derived from their original habitation This place is said to have been situated in the south. Buhler, who, following Bhagvanlal, read *Malaya* in V 7 as the name of the country where Ravi was ruling, thought that the ministerial family was probably a sub-division of the

[1] In No 25, v 17 also the word *atha* is used to mark a change in the subject of description.

[2] Bhagvanlal read *atha Dēvarāja*, and Buhler, *atha dēvarājasya* in the beginning of V 13. Pl. LX in *A S W I*, Vol IV, defective as it is, shows clearly the *aksharas atha Dēvarāja-sūnur=Hari-* The fresh estampages supplied to me by the Archaeological Department of the Hyderabad State give the name *Harishēna* clearly. There should therefore be no doubt about this reading

[3] *A S.W I*, Vol. IV, p. 139, n. 4

[4] The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā also refers to the *bandhu-varga* of Varāhadēva who apparently had a large number of relatives. See No 25, line 24.

Malabār Brāhmanas As shown below, the reading *Malaya* is extremely doubtful, and apart from this reading, there is no evidence to place the homeland of this family so far to the south It appears more likely that the family originally belonged to the southern portion of the former Hyderabad State, for even now there is a village named Vēlūr in the (Yelgandal) Karīmnagar District of that State It may be noted in this connection that the Vākātakas who patronised this family appear to have originally belonged to the same part of the country; for the earliest mention of the name *Vākāṭaka* occurs in a pilgrim record on a pillar at Amarāvatī[1], which lies only about 150 miles south by east of Vēlūr It is not unlikely that both these families which rose to distinction in the same period and were connected intimately with each other for several generations hailed from the same part of the country which was apparently the Central Deccan This gives a plausible explanation of how the Vākātakas rose to power in Vidarbha or Central Deccan immediately after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas

The present inscription has also a bearing on the **age** of the **Ghatōtkacha cave** which has been variously estimated In a note added to Bhagvanlal's transcript of this inscription, Burgess stated that Bhagvanlal's view that the Ghatōtkacha cave is of a somewhat later date than the Ajantā caves XVI, XVII and XXVI was borne out also by its architecture. Subsequently, Burgess seems to have modified his view, evidently in view of Buhler's interpretation of the present record, for he remarked in his report on the Buddhist Cave-Temples and their Inscriptions (*A S W I*, Vol IV) as follows·—" It seems probable that Hastibhōja was the excavator of this cave which would thus belong to a period somewhat anterior to the Ajaṇṭā *vihāra* excavated by his son " As shown above, the Ghatōtkacha cave also was excavated during the reign of the Vākātaka king Harishēna by a son of the minister of Hastibhōja, who was probably Varāhadēva. It is therefore of the same age as the *Vihāra* Caves XVI and XVII and the *Gandhakuṭī* or *Chaitya* Cave XIX, all of which were excavated during the reign of the same Vākātaka king Any differences that may be noticeable in the architectures of these caves must be attributed to individual workmanship and not to a difference in their age

TEXT[2]

1 मुनिर्म्मुनीनामरोमराणा गुरुर्गुरूणा प्रवरो वराणा(णाम्)[।*] जयत्यनाभोगविबुद्धबुद्धिर्बुद्धा-
भिधानो निधिरद्भुताना(नाम्) [।।१।।*][3]
2 धर्म्मस्ततो धर्म्मविदा प्रणीतस्तथा[ग*] [ण]श्चाग्र्यतमो गणाना(नाम्) [।*] भवन्ति य [स्मि]-
न्निहि[ता *] सु[पा]त्रे कारापका[रा]स्तन[या] ह्युदारा[4] [।।२।।*]
3 अस्ति प्रकाशो दिशि दक्षिणस्या वल्लूरनाम्ना द्विजसत्तमाना(नाम्) [।*] आ ब्रम्हणस्स-
भृतपुण्यकीर्त्तिर्व्व[ङ]शो[5] महीयान्म[हि]तो महद्भि[6] [।।३।।*]

[1] *Ep Ind*, Vol XV, p 267.

[2] From inked estampages supplied by the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad State

[3] Metre of vv 1 and 2 *Upajāti*

[4] The readings in the second half of this verse are not quite certain Bhagvanlal read तनयाप्युदारा, and Buhler तनया प्युदारा Buhler added in a note, "Either तनयाऽप्युदारा or नया ह्युदारा to be read". The *akshara* before दा is certainly ह्यु, and the verbal form भवन्ति shows that the subject must be in the plural So तनया ह्युदारा must be the intended reading

[5] Bhagvanlal read -व्वंशो, and Buhler -वंशो व् seems to have been repeated after र् Again, श् appears much below the line so that there is sufficient space for the superscript guttural nasal ङ्, though it is not quite certain here See वङ्शजासु in line 6 below Read -र्व्वंशो

[6] Metre *Indravajrā*

4 त[स्मिन्न]भूदाहितलक्षणाना[1] द्विजन्मना [प्रा]थमकल्पिकाना(नाम्)[2] [।*] भृग्वत्रिगर्ग्गाङ्गि-
गर[सा] समानो द्विजर्षभो [य]ज्ञ[पति][3]ᳶप्रकाश[4] [॥४॥*]
5 तदा[त्म]जो देव इवास देवᳵकृती गृही[ती][5] नयवान्क्रियावान् [।*] सराजक राष्ट्रमुपेत्य
यस्मिन्धर्म्यानक्रियाᳶ[पा]र्थ[6] इव प्रचक्रे [॥५॥*]
6 सोमस्तत· सोम [इ]वापरोभूत्स ब्राम्हणक्षत्रियवङ्शजासु[7] [।*] श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्या विहिता[र्त्थ]-
कारी द्वयीषु भार्य्यासु मनो दधार [॥६॥*]
7 स क्षत्रियाया कुलशीलवत्यामुत्पादयामास नरेन्द्रचिह्न(ह्नम्) [।*] सुत सुरूप रविनामधेय
कृताधिपत्य वि[ष*]ये[8] समग्रे [॥७॥*]
8 द्विजासु चान्यासु सुतानुदारान्स [प्राप*][9] वेदेषु समाप्तकामान् [।*] वल्लूरनाम्ना[10] दिशि
दक्षिणस्यामद्यापि येषा[म्व]सति[11][द्वि]जाना(नाम्) [॥८॥*]
9 रवेस्सुतो भूत्प्रवरामिधान श्रीरामनामाथ बभूव तस्मात् [।*] तस्यात्मज[12]ᳵकीर्त्तिरभूत्सु-
कीर्त्तिर्ब्बभूव तस्मादथ हस्ति[भोज][13] [॥९॥*]
10 वाकाटके राजति देवसेने गुणैᳶप्रकाशो[14] भुवि हस्तिभोज[15] [।*] अद्यापि यस्याभिजनप्र[दा]-

[1] Bhagvanlal and Buhler read दाहतलक्षणाना, but traces still remain of a curve on ह Cf ककुत्स्थ इत्याहितलक्षणोभूत् । in *Raghnvamśa*, VI, 71.

[2] Bhagvanlal read प्राथमकल्पकाना, but Buhler gave the correct reading प्राथमकल्पिकाना

[3] Bhagvanlal could not restore the name of the progenitor of this family He read यज्ञ प्रकाश, and thought यज्ञप्रकाश was his proper name प्रकाश is, however, used by the poet elsewhere also in the sense of 'well-known', See lines 3 and 10, below Buhler suggested यज्ञधर and यज्ञपति as possible readings, and decided in favour of the latter The name is fairly clear in the fresh estampages The curve on the last letter is still seen So यज्ञपति is undoubtedly the correct name There are traces of the *upadhmānīya* on *pra*

[4] Metre of verses 4-12: *Upajāti*

[5] Bhagvanlal read गृहस्थो, but as Buhler pointed out, the *i* mark of गृही is quite plain The next *akshara* also which was not read by Buhler has a similar *ī*-mark The intended reading seems to be गृहीती Cf गृहीती षट्स्वङ्गेषु in the *Daśakumāracharita* (Bom Sanskrit Series, 1919), p. 100.

[6] Bhagvanlal read पार्त्थं, and Buhler नाथ The first *akshara* of the word is fairly clear with the sign of *upadhmānīya* over it, and in view of the comparison of Deva with *deva* (the god Krishna), the reading *Pārtha* is almost certain The second *akshara* is still quite clear It is र्थं and not त्थ, nor थ.

[7] Bhagvanlal and Buhler read वशजासु, but the superscript guttural nasal is quite clear Read -वङ्शजासु.

[8] Both Bhagvanlal and Buhler read this word as मलये The first *akshara* appears more like *vi* than *ma*, the curve on it being still quite clear The second *akshara* is now very much damaged. It was probably so in the days of Bhagvanlal and Buhler also The facsimile published in *A S.W I.* (Pl. LX) shows it to be *la*, but its accuracy is doubtful, for in this epigraph the letter *l* has invariably its right limb sharply turned to the left in the form of a curve, but this *l* in Bhagvanlal's copy has a straight vertical stroke on the right Cf the forms of *l* in आहितलक्षणाना and प्राथमकल्पिकाना both in line 4, कुलशील in line 7, वल्लूर in line 8, धवला in line 14, and फलमखिल- in line 17. In all these cases *l* has the same form, with its right limb bent over like a curve The correct reading therefore appears to be विषये.

[9] Bhagvanlal read here doubtfully सोम, and Buhler, स[म]स्त Neither of these readings gives a verb which is necessary in this verse The *aksharas* here are damaged Restore प्राप

[10] Both Bhagvanlal and Buhler read वल्लूरनाम्ना, but Buhler proposed to emend it as वल्लूरनाम्ना. The proposed emendation is unnecessary The Brāhmanas were known as *Vallūras* (v 3, above), because they were residing at Vallūra as stated here Cf उदुम्बरनामान which occurs in the description of the ancestors of Bhavabhūti *Mālatīmadhava*, Act I

[11] Read येषा वसति-

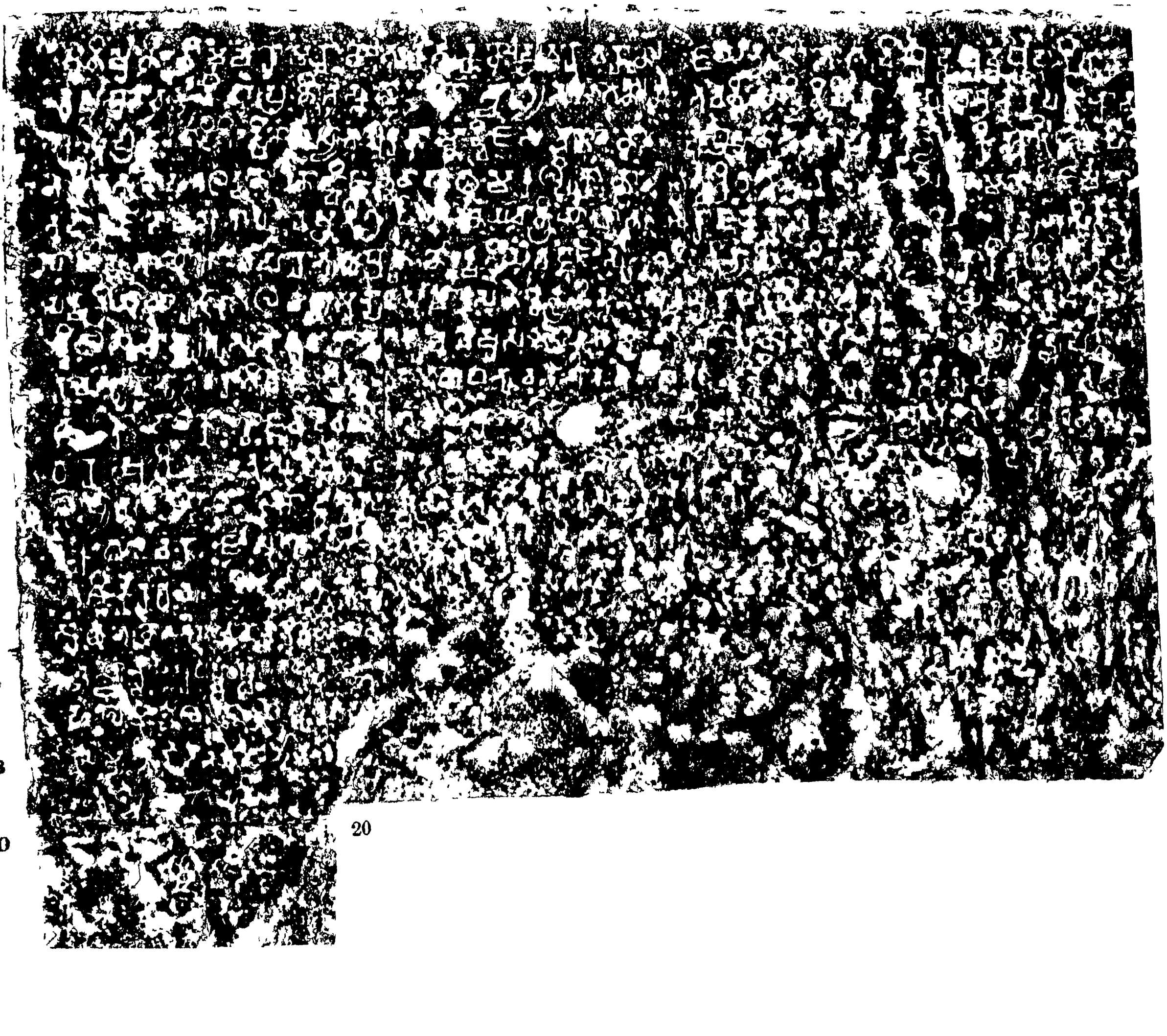
[12] Bhagvanlal and Buhler read तदात्मज-, but the subscript *y* of the *akshara* following *ta* shows that it is probably *sya*

[13] Bhagvanlal read ह[स्तिभोज], and Buhler, [हस्तिभोज] The first two *aksharas* of this name are quite certain, but the last two are now damaged

[14] Both Bhagvanlal and Buhler read this word as गुणैषिकोशो which does not yield good sense. What they took as the *i*-mark of *shi* is really the sign for the *upadhmānīya* above *pra* Read गुणैᳶप्रकाशो. The poet has used प्रकाश elsewhere also in this inscription, see above, lines 3 and 4

[15] The *aksharas* भुवि, which were fairly clear in the days of Bhagvanlal and Buhler, are now much damaged The first *akshara* ह of the name हस्तिभोज is partially damaged but the following *aksharas* can be read from the traces still remaining

GHATŌTKACHA CAVE INSCRIPTION (



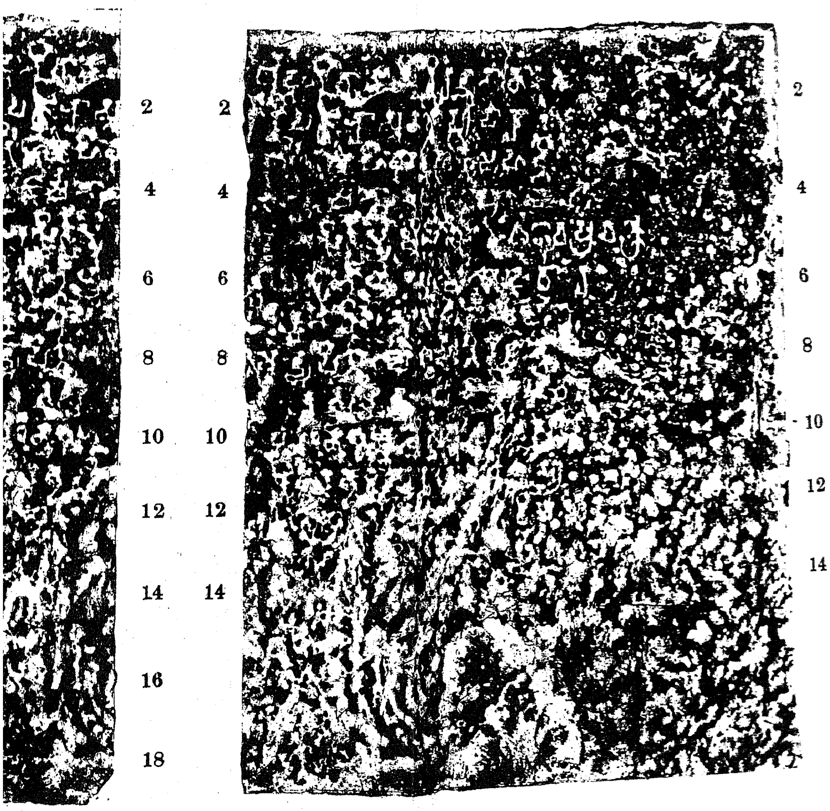
Scale One-fourth

D C Sircar

REG No 3977 E'36—1,103 '63

IPTION OF VARĀHADĒVA

Plate XXVI



-fourth

PRINTED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES

न⏓ — ⏑ — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — [॥१०॥*]

11 धीरेषु धीमत्सु सहोत्थितेषु कृत्य[प्र]मा[णेषु] गुणान्वितेषु [।*] ⏓ — ⏑ — — नृपतेर्यदे —, ⏓ — ⏑
— — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — — [॥११॥*]

12 यस्यासनार्द्ध [पु]रुषा[1] ⏑ — —, ⏓ — ⏑ मात्ससदि — ⏑ — — [।*] ⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — —,
⏓ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥१२॥*]

13 अथ देवराजसूनु[2]र्हरिषेणो हस्तिभोज [।*] .
[3] [॥१३॥*]

14 शशिकरधवला नि[री]क्ष्य की[र्त्ति] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — — [।*] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑
— ⏑ — —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — [4] [॥१४॥*]

15 अथ गुणशतसभृतात्मभूत प्रियतन[यो*] ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — [।*] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — - — ⏑
— —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥१५॥*]

16 तस्यात्मजेषु बहुषु ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —, — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — — [।*] — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — — —, — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — [5] [॥१६॥*]

17 फलमखिल ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — — —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — — [।*] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑
— —, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — — [6] [॥१७॥*]

18 सम्यग्विभावित इहास्ति वराह[देव *] — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — [।*] — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑
— ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — —, — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — [7] [॥१८॥*][8]

TRANSLATION[9]

(Verse 1) Victorious is he who is called the Buddha, the sage among sages, the teacher among teachers, the immortal among immortals, the best among the eminent (*and*) a store of marvels—who attained enlightenment by abstension from the enjoyment[10] (*of worldly pleasures*)

(V 2) (*Victorious*) next (*is*) the law promulgated by him who knows the law, and (*victorious*) also (*is*) the Community, the best among all communities, having done service to which[11], a worthy recipient, the sons (*of men*) become exalted

---

[1] Bhagvanlal read पुरुषा, but Buhler took the word to be सुरसा The *aksharas* are doubtful, but I have followed Bhagvanlal as the traces left admit of that reading

[2] Bhagvanlal could read only देवराज, and Buhler देवराजस्य The *akshara* following देवराज is clearly स The next *akshara* has lost its upper part, but the lower *u*-sign is clear The following *akshara* is clearly *ha* It closely resembles *ha* in महर्द्धि, line 3 The next *akshara* is almost certainly *n*. The name was undoubtedly हरिषेणो, the last two *aksharas* being clear in the new estampages. As the previous editors missed this important name, they were unable to identify this Dēvarāja correctly.

[3] Metre *Āryā*

[4] Netre of verses 14 and 15 *Pushpitāgrā*

[5] Metre *Vasantatilakā*

[6] Metre *Pushpitāgrā*

[7] Metre *Vasantatilakā*

[8] There are traces of an *akshara* here and there in the next four lines in the lithograph published in *A.S.W I*, Vol. IV, Pl LX as well as in the estampages supplied to me, but no words can be read completely

[9] In this translation I have derived some help from Dr Buhler's rendering, though I have differed from him in the interpretation of several passages

[10] *Anābhōga* is 'lack of attention or interest, disinclination'. See *A Critical Pali Dictionary* by Trenckner, Anderson and Smith Buhler translates it as 'abstaining from fruition'.

[11] The sense of the second half of this verse is somewhat obscure. *Kāra* seems to be used herein the same sense as in Pali, viz, a deed, service, act of mercy or worship, homage *Kārāpakāra* is apparently used here in the same sense as *Kārakāraka* 'one who performs a religious duty or service'. (*Pali Dictionary by* Rhys Davids). *Kārā* has been used in line 17 of No. 25 above. See p 111, n 1, above. This

(*Continued*)

(V. 3) In the southern country is well known a great race of most eminent Brāhmanas named **Vallūras,** which (*race*) has accumulated religious merit and glory since (*the age of*) Brahmā and is honoured by the great

(V. 4) In that (*race*) was born famous **Yajña[pati]**[1], an excellent Brāhmana, who resembled the primeval Brāhmanas Bhrigu, Atri, Garga and Aṅgiras, noted for their good qualities

(V 5) His son was **Dēva,** who being wise, learned, proficient in political wisdom and engaged in the performance of religious rites, resembled the god (Krishna), being guided by whom, the whole kingdom together with the king performed religious duties even as Pārtha (*i e*, Arjuna) did (*under the guidance of Krishna*)[2]

(V 6) From him was born **Sōma,** a second moon as it were, who, performing religious duties as enjoined by the Vēdas and Smritis, gave his love (*equally*) to wives of the two (castes), born in Brāhmana and Kshatriya families

(V 7) On a Kshatriya wife of noble birth and character, he begot a good-looking son named **Ravi,** possessed of marks of royalty who established his sway over the whole territory[3]

(V 8) From other Brāhmana wives he obtained sons who fulfilled their desires in mastering the Vēdas,—whose habitation named **Vallūra** is even now (*well-known*) in the southern country[4]

(V 9) The son of Ravi was **Pravara.** From him sprang **Śrī-Rāma.** His son was **Kīrti** of good repute, and from him was born **Hastibhōja.**

(V 10) When the **Vākātaka Dēvasēṇa** was ruling, **Hastibhōja** distinguished himself by his excellences—(*he*) whose noble birth (*and*) charity even now[5]

(V 11) Among the resolute, intelligent, efficient and meritorious colleagues . . when the king's

(V 12) Occupying a half of whose seat men in the assembly . .

Footnote No 11—(*Continued*)

verse has puzzled previous editors Bhagvanlal translated, 'Even an ungrateful and unjust prison(?) dedicated to his virtuous person, becomes the bestower of good' Buhler gave the following rendering 'The Community (*of ascetics*) placed in which, as in a beautiful vessel, even those who have sinned by committing murder, become exalted' In a note he adds, 'The phrase *kārāpakārāstanayāh* is very ambiguous as it may be taken as one compound, consisting of *kārāpakāra* and *astanaya*, or as two words *kārāpākārās* and *tanayāh* as *kāra* may be interpreted 'effort' or 'a Yati' or 'murder'. If it is taken as a compound it may be translated by 'those whose efforts are offences and who thus cast aside good behaviour or prudence', or by 'those who offend against ascetics, and thus' etc —or by 'those whose offence is murder and who thus' etc If we adopt the second division *tanayāh* means 'sons' and *kārāpakārāh* can again be taken in various ways The poet no doubt intended to puzzle the reader But in any case the general sense remains the same, and the half verse is intended to assert that sinners are purified by joining the Buddhist Sangha'

[1] This name is almost certain

[2] Buhler, who read *nātha* in place of *Pārtha*, translated as follows —'Under whom, when he gained possession of the kingdom and of the king, lawful rites were performed as in the (*time of*) the Lord Buddha' With the reading *dharmyāh kriyāh* which Buhler adopted, this construction is impossible, for the verb would be expected to be in the plural, not in the singular as here (*prachakre*) As shown above, the reading is undoubtedly *Pārtha* and so the simile seems to have been suggested by the name Dēva The sense seems to be that the whole kingdom together with the king did its duty being guided by Dēva, even as Arjuna had done before by the advice of the god Krishna

[3] As shown above, the reading *Malayē* is not likely Ravi was therefore ruling over the territory round his native place Vallūra, not over Malaya

[4] As the reading is clearly *Vallūra-nāmnā* here, as given by both Bhagvanlal and Buhler, Vallūra is primarily the name of the village The family became known by that name as it was living at the place.

[5] This indicates that Hastibhōja was dead when the inscription was incised

(V 13) Then there is **Harishēṇa,** the son of **Dēvarāja**[1] **Hastibhōja** . .

(V 14) Observing (*his*) fame as white as moon-beams. ...

(V 15) Then was born (*to Hastibhōja*) a dear son[2], who was his (very) self, possessed of a hundred qualities

(V 16). Among his many sons[3]

(V 17) the entire reward

(V 18) Here is **Varāhadēva,** thoroughly examined

---

[1] Bhagvanlal, taking *Dēvarāja* to be a proper name, identified him with the minister of the Aśmaka king mentioned in an inscription in Cave XXVI at Ajaṇṭā, while Buhler thought that it meant the lord of gods, Indra The reading *Dēvarāja-sūnur-Harishēṇō*, given here for the first time, shows clearly that this Dēvarāja was none other than the Vākāṭaka king Dēvasēna, and his son was the same as Harishēna. The cave was thus excavated during the reign of Harishēna, not of Dēvasēna

[2] This son was probably Varāhadēva who is mentioned in the large Vākāṭaka inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā as the successor of Hastibhōja and minister of Harishēna. Cf. Prithivīrāja used in the sense of Prithivīshēna I in No 14, line 19, above, p 66

[3] Perhaps this verse stated that of the numerous sons of Hastibhōja, Harishēṇa selected Varāhadēva for the post of his Prime Minister.

No 27 Plate XXVII

INSCRIPTION IN AJANTĀ CAVE XVII

THOUGH the present inscription had been copied several times before[1], the first attempt to edit it was that of Dr Bhau Daji He personally copied this and other inscriptions at Ajantā in February 1863, and submitted his papers on them to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 10th July 1863[2] He published an eye-copy of the epigraph together with a transcript and a sort of English translation in the *Journal* of the Society Vol VII, pp 53 f He read the names of nine princes, of whom four, viz, Dhritarāshtra, Harisāmba, Śaurisāmba and Ravisāmba, he thought, belonged to one dynasty and the remaining five, whose names he read as Upēndragupta, Skācha, Niladāsa, Skācha and Krishnadāsa[3], to another In line 13 he read *Amtya* as the name of a minister[4] who, he thought, probably served Ravisāmba Dr Bhau Daji failed to notice that Harishēna, mentioned in line 21, was identical with the homonymous Vākātaka king named in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā About the general purport of the epigraph and the location of the kingdom or capitals of these princes he offered no remarks

The inscription was next edited, with an introductory note and a translation, but without any facsimile, by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India* (Archaeological Survey of Western India), (1881), pp 73 f The Pandit deciphered the record with his usual skill and thoroughness He, for the first time, gave correctly the names of the following ten princes, all of whom, according to him belonged to the same royal family and ruled over Aśmaka —Dhritarāshtra, Harisāmba, Śaurisāmba, Upēndragupta, Agaja or Kācha I, Bhikshudāsa, Nīladāsa, Kācha II, Krishnadāsa and Ravisāmba Again, he drew attention to the name of the king Harishēna, whom he identified with the Vākātaka prince of that name and to whom, he thought, this Aśmaka family might have been subordinate Further, from the fragmentary phrases of verse 12, Bhagvanlal conjectured that the elder son of Krishnadāsa whose name is obliterated murdered his brother Ravisāmba, but afterwards repented The *vihāra* where the present inscription is incised was constructed either by this king or his minister whose name Bhagvanlal read as *Achintya* As regards the date of the inscription, he thought that it belonged to the same age as that in Cave XVI which was incised in characters ' current in Chhattisgarh District and the country round the Bāngangā about the 5th and 6th century A D '

The epigraph was next edited with a lithograph and a translation by Dr G Buhler in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol IV (1883), 128 f and Pl lvi The lithograph was made from a facsimile prepared by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji and appears to have been considerably worked up by hand Dr Buhler's transcript does not differ much from Pandit Bhagvanlal's He gave the same names of princes, but he corrected the Pandit's statement about the purport of verse 12 He showed that the correct meaning of the verse was that the younger brother perished suddenly by an accident or died of a disease The next verse,

---

[1] *J A S B*, Vol V, p 554, *J B B R A S*, Vol VII, pp 55 f

[2] *J B B R A S*, Vol VII, pp 53 f

[3] The correct names Kācha (I), Nīladāsa, Kācha (II) were given for the first time by Pandit Bhagvanlal

[4] As shown below, no minister is named here. The word *sachiva* which occurs in verse 13 has misled all previous editors For its correct meaning, see p 122, n 3, below

according to him, mentioned the ruling king's minister Achitya who donated the *vihāra.* Dr Buhler referred the inscription to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A C

The record was finally edited by me from an excellent inked estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India It was published with a translation and a mechanical facsimile in the *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No 15 It is edited here from the same facsimile

The inscription is engraved on a side wall outside the verandah in **Cave XVII** at **Ajaṇṭā** in the former Hyderabad State It has suffered much by exposure to weather Several *aksharas* in the beginning of each line on the left have been completely destroyed by rain-water trickling over them Besides, a few *aksharas* here and there have become illegible The general purport of the inscription can, however, be made out without much difficulty

The inscription covers a space 4′ broad and 4′ 5″ high The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets The following peculiarities may be noted:— The length of the medial *ī* is shown by a curling curve which is generally turned to the left as in *marīchi-* line 20 and *nyavīṁśat,* line 26, but in some cases the curve is turned to the right as in *pradīpta-*, line 6 and *vyavīvridhat,* line 13, the medial *au* is bipartite as in *kānta-rūpau,* line 8, *k* is cursive in *prakām-*, line 26, *ch* and *v* are in some cases indistinguishable; see *marīchi-*, line 20 and *ravir-*, line 29, *d* in *Bhikshudāsa* line 5, and *pradīpta-*, line 6 is angular The sign for the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in lines 1, 4 and 6, and that for the *upadhmānīya* in lines 11 and 13 The **language** is Sanskrit and the whole record is metrically composed There are twenty-nine verses in all, none of which is numbered Each line of the inscription contains one complete verse The completion of the first hemistich is in some cases marked by a horizontal stroke and that of a whole verse by two vertical strokes As for **orthography,** we may note that the consonant following *r* is generally reduplicated, see *karmmaṇō,* line 1, *kīrtti-*, line 5 etc , the *visarga* is correctly omitted in *bhuva stūpa-* in line 22 in accordance with a *vārttika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36, but the final *n* is wrongly changed to *anusvāra* in *anūchivāṁ,* line 18

As shown below, the inscription was caused to be incised by a prince whose name is now unfortunately lost, but who was probably ruling over Khāndēsh as **a feudatory** of the **Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishēṇa.** The **object** of it is to record the excavation, by this prince[1], of the *vihāra* cave XVII and the *gandhakuṭī* Cave XIX[2] at Ajantā The present inscription may therefore be referred to the end of fifth century A C It is of the same age as the inscription in Cave XVI, which also belongs to the reign of the same Vākātaka Emperor Harishena

Owing to the destruction of a considerable portion on the left, the inscription does not admit of a detailed analysis The gaps in the text are required to be filled in some places by conjecture The record opens with an obeisance to the sage (Buddha), who is described as a thunderbolt to the tree of worldly existence The poet then proceeds to give the following pedigree of the donor of the *Vihāra* Cave —

---

1 All previous editors of the present inscription, who were misled by the word *sachiva* occurring in line 13, thought that this cave also, like Cave XVI, was caused to be excavated by a minister For the correct interpretation of the verse see below, p 122

2 Bhagvanlal thought that the *gandhakuṭī* mentioned in v 27 was the small Cave XVIII from which the image which was movable had been removed See *Inscriptions* etc , p 76, n 2. The description, however, clearly refers to the Chaitya Cave XIX which is actually situated to the west of Cave XVII.

(Name lost)
|
(son)
Dhritarāshṭra
|
(son ?)
Harisāmba
|
(son)
Śaurisāmba
|
(son ?)
Upēndragupta
|
(younger son)
Kācha I
|
(son ?)
Bhikshudāsa
|
(son)
Nīladāsa
|
(son ?)
Kācha II
|
(son)
Krishṇadāsa
|
(sons)

(Name lost) — **Ravisāmba**

The name of the founder of the family is now lost, but from the description in verse 2, it seems to have been one signifying 'Protector of men'[1] The relation of Harisāmba, Upendragupta, Bhikshudāsa and Kācha (II) to their predecessors is not specified in the preserved portion of the inscription About Kācha I we are told that he was a younger son of his father Upēndragupta, but why his elder brother did not succeed to the throne is not stated

Krishṇadāsa married a princess whose name also is unfortunately uncertain[2]. He had from her two sons who are said to have resembled Pradyumna and Sāmba, the well-known sons of the epic hero Krishna The name of the elder son has not been preserved, but the younger was called **Ravisāmba.** The elder son succeeded to the throne The two brothers conquered **Aśmaka** and other countries and lived happily together, with increasing fraternal love and fame After some time Ravisāmba met with premature death, which, the poet says, was due to his deeds in former lives The elder brother, being overwhelmed with sorrow and convinced of the transitoriness of worldly existence[3], began to lead a pious

[1] The verse does not state that he was the son of a king as Bhagvanlal supposed See *Inscriptions* etc , p. 73.

[2] Bhau Daji read the name of the queen as *Āmachandrā*, and Buhler as *Suchandrā*, but neither of these readings is supported by the facsimile The correct reading appears to be *Atichandrā.*

[3] This is the correct meaning of verse 13 -*Anitya-saṁjñā-sachivas=tataḥ param vyavīvṛidhat=puṇya-mahā-mahīruham* *Anitya-saṁjñā* (Pali, *anichcha-saññā*) is mentioned in the *Udāna* as a subject of meditation. There is no reference to any minister here.

life He waited upon saintly persons known for their learning, charity, compassion and other virtues and imitated in his actions righteous kings He bestowed munificent gifts on suppliants and being moved by compassion, released from bondage terrified persons by spending large amounts for the purpose Realising that wealth causes an obstacle in the attainment of *siddhi* by meditation on the Omniscient (Buddha), he adorned the earth with *stūpas* and *vihāras*, and delighted suppliants with liberal gifts, while **Harishēṇa,** the moon among kings, was protecting the earth He also caused the excellent monolith *mandapa* containing the *chaitya* of the Buddha to be excavated in the form of the present Cave XVII on a beautiful spur of the **Sahya** mountain He provided it with a water cistern and caused a noble *gandhakutī*[1] to be excavated to the west of it in another part of the same hill The last verse (29) expresses the hope that the *mandapa* would cause the well-being of good people as long as the sun continues to dispel darkness with its rays

The foregoing account of the inscription must have shown that the last of these kings whose name is unfortunately lost was a contemporary and probably a feudatory of the Vākātaka Emperor Harishena He was preceded by ten other princes The founder of the family whose name has not been preserved may, therefore, have been reigning in the period from *circa* 275 to 300 A C.

From the mention of **Aśmaka** in v 10 of the present inscription Pandit Bhagvanlal conjectured that these princes were ruling over Aśmaka The verse, however, plainly shows that Aśmaka was one of the countries raided by these princes, it was not their homeland From the *Suttanipāta* we learn that the Aśmakas were settled in the vicinity of the Gōdavārī and that their country bordered on that of the Mūlakas[2] The *Suttanipāta* further states that the disciples of the Brāhmana Bāvarī who was living on the bank of the Gōdāvarī in the country of Aśmaka, proceeded to North India *via* Pratishthāna (modern Paithan), the capital of Mūlaka [3] Aśmaka, therefore, appears to have been situated to the south of the Gōdāvarī and probably comprised parts of the Ahmednagar and Bhir District The country of Aśmaka thus lay to the south of Ajantā and was different from Khāndēsh which lay to the north of it

The ancient name of Khāndēsh seems to have been **Rishīka.** Varāhamihira places Rishīka in the southern division In the *Rāmayāna* Rishīka is grouped with Vidarbha among the countries of the south which Sugrīva asked monkeys to visit in search of Sītā[4] In the *Mahābhārata* also Rishīka is coupled with Vidarbha[5] Elsewhere the epic mentions Rishīka and Aśmaka among the countries conquered by Karna [6] In the *Daśakumārachanta* the ruler of Rishīka is said to have been, like that of Aśmaka, a feudatory of the king of Vidarbha[7] The Nāsik cave inscription of Pulumāvi mentions Asika (Sanskrit, Rishīka) together with Asaka (Sanskrit, Aśmaka) and Mūlaka among the countries governed by Pulumāvi's father Gautamīputra Sātakarni[8] All these references show that Rishīka was contiguous to Aśmaka, Vidarbha and Mūlaka The only country which answers to this geographical position is Khāndēsh, for it is bounded on the east by Berar (ancient Vidarbha), and on the

---

1 This is the Chaitya Cave XIX, about the age of which there was much uncertainty
2 *Suttanipata*, Pārāyanavaggo, vatthugāthā, 5, 2
3 *Ibid*, v 16
4 *Rāmāyana* (Nirnayasagar ed), Kishkindhākānda, v 10
5 *Mahābhārata* (Chitraśālā Press ed.), Bhīshmaparvan adhyaya 9, v 64
6 *Ibid*, Karnaparvan, adhyāya 8, v. 20
7 *Daśakumārachanta* (Bom. Sanskrit Series), p 138
8 *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, pp 60 f

south by the Aurangābād District (ancient Mūlaka) South of Mūlaka lay Aśmaka (modern Ahmadnagar and Bhir districts) The district obtained its modern name Khāndēsh in much later times[1]

The royal family described in the present inscription, which rose to power in the second half of the third century A C, must have first owed allegiance to the Abhīras who succeeded the Sātavāhanas as an Imperial power in the Deccan[2] After the fall of the Ābhīras, they seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Vākātakas A fragmentary verse in the adjoining Cave XVI at Ajantā states that the Vākātaka Emperor Harishēna either raided or exacted tribute from Trikūta, which comprised the territory round Nāsik. Khāndēsh which lay between Vidarbha and Trikūta must have likewise submitted to the Vākātakas In fact, the present inscription mentions the Vākātaka Emperor Harishēna in a manner which indicates that he was the lord paramount of this royal family The *Daśakumāracharita* gives in the eighth *Uchchhvāsa*, a narrative which seems to have had a historical basis[3] As shown elsewhere, it reflects the last period of Vākātaka rule, *viz*, the reign of Harishēna's son The narrative mentions the ruler of Rishīka (modern Khāndēsh where this royal family was reigning) as a feudatory of the Emperor of Vidarbha This is a further indication that this royal family owned the suzerainty of the Vākātakas

We have no records of any successors of Krishnadāsa's son, who, as we have seen, was a contemporary of the Vākātaka Emperor Harishēna The dynasty appears to have been overthrown by the Kalachuris of Māhishmatī who occupied Northern Mahārāshṭra after the downfall of the Vākātakas Hoards of the silver coins (*rūpakas*) of Krishnarāja, the founder of the Kalachuri power, have been found both in the Nāsik District[4] and Berar[5], which border Khāndēsh on the west and the east respectively A coin of the same king has recently been reported from Nandurbār in the Khāndēsh District

TEXT[6]

1 ⏑ – ⏑ – – – ⏑ [भव*]द्रुमाशनि[7] प्रणम्य विद्यात्रयपारग मुनिम् [।*] विहारदातुर्व्यवदात-
कर्म्मणो[8] गुणाभिधानोपनय꣸करिष्यते[9] ।।[१।।*]

2 ⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ [पा*]लनेन[10] लब्धात्मभावस्य नराधिपत्य [।*] धृतातपत्रस्य बभूव पुत्रस्सिता-
तपत्रो धृतराष्ट्रसज्ञ[11] ।।[२।।*]

3 ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – स्य राज्ञो हरिसाम्बोम्बुरुहेन्दुकान्तवक्त्र. [।*] नृपतेस्तनयो बभूव तस्या-
प्यमलश्री क्षितिपालशौरिसाम्ब[12] ।। [३।।*]

---

[1] The present name of Khāndēsh is said to have been given to the district in Musalman times to suit the title of *Khān* conferred on the Faruki kings by Ahmad I of Gujarāt. *E H D*, p 138

[2] The grants of three other kings of Khāndēsh are dated in the Ābhīra era *A B O R I*, Vol XXV, pp 98 f, *C I I*, Vol IV, pp 5-12

[3] Introduction, above, pp xxxii f.

[4] The coins of Kṛishnarāja were discovered at Devlānā near Nāsik *Bom Gaz*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p 13

[5] A hoard of 1600 coins was discovered at Dhāmōri in Berar

[6] From the impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist

[7] Both Bhagvanlal and Buhler read -मावनि,, but the *akshara* preceding मा is certainly द्रु, and there is little doubt that the whole expression was भवद्रुमाशनि The poet has used अशनि again in Verse 12 below

[8] Buhler read कर्मणो, but the subscript *m* of *rmma* is clear in the facsimile

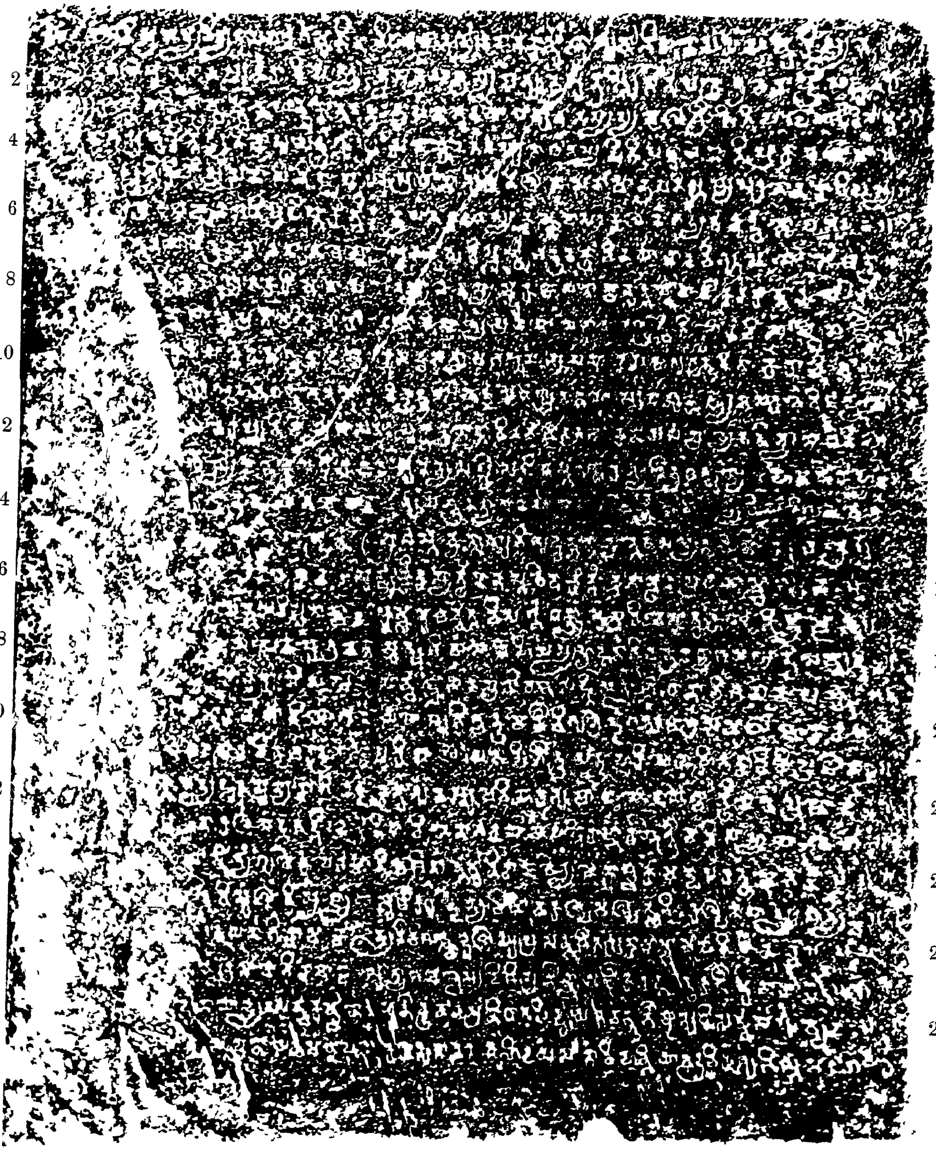
[9] Metre *Vamśastha*

[10] Bhagvanlal read नेशा which will hardly suit the context Buhler read नेन, the preceding *akshara* is ल. Read नाम्ना जनपालनेन

[11] Metre *Upajāti*

[12] Metre of verses 3-7 *Aupachchhandasika*

INSCRIPTION IN AJAṆṬĀ CAVE XVII



Scale. about One-seventh

D C Sircar

Reg No 3977 E'36—1103 62

Printed at the Survey of India Offices (P L O)

4 ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑ [ते]न[1] पृथुकीर्त्तिर्द्युतिमानुपेन्द्रगुप्त [।*] समभूद[वर[2]]स्सुनोथ तस्य क्षितिप⧗काच इति प्रकाशनामा ॥ [४॥*]

5 ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑–– द्युति[3]कीर्त्तिन्यसनाय भिक्षुदास [।*] प्रथितो भुवि नीलदाम-नामा नृपतिस्तस्य सुतो नराधिपस्य ॥ [५॥*]

6 ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑– [रै] प्रथित⧗काच इति प्रदीप्तकीर्त्ति [।*] नृपतेरथ तस्य कृष्णदास कुलवशद्युतिवर्द्धनो बभूव ॥ [६॥*]

7 ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑––स्तनया चन्द्रकरावदातवेशा [।*] अभवत्परिपूर्णचन्द्रवक्त्रा विनया-चारविभूषणातिचन्द्रा[4] ॥ [७॥*]

8 ⏓–⏑–––⏑⏑–– [अ*]र्त्थिस्थलोद्यो[5](द्द्यो)तकरीमवाप [।*] तस्या च तस्याम्बुरुहायताक्षावुत्तप्तचामीकरकान्तरूपौ[6] ॥ [८॥*]

9 ⏓–⏑–––⏑⏑––[प्रद्यु*]म्नसाम्बप्रतिमौ कुमारौ [।*] धराधिपाख्या[7] प्रथमो बभार दध्रे द्वितीयो [र*]विसाम्ब[8]सज्ञाम्[9] ॥ [९॥*]

10 ⏑–⏑––⏑⏑–⏑⏑⏑–, ⏑––⏑[नीयोच्छ्रित[10]]मश्मकादि[कम्] [।*] [कृ]तार्थसत्वा-(त्त्वा)[व]भिभूय[11] भूयसा रराजतुश्चन्द्रदिवाकराविव[12] ॥ [१०॥*]

11 ⏑–⏑––⏑⏑–⏑⏑⏑–, ⏑–⏑–– ह निबद्धमानयो[13] [।*] विवृद्धसोहार्द-यशःप्रतानयोस्सदानुकूल्येन सुख विजह्नषो[14] ॥ [११॥*]

12 ⏑–⏑––⏑⏑–⏑⏑⏑–⏑[अमान]वै[15]रप्यनिवार्य्यशासन [।*] पुराकृतोद्भावितभीमविक्रम कनीयसि प्राख्यदनित्यताशनि[म्][16] ॥ [१२॥*]

---

1 Bhagvanlal read नेश here Buhler also read the second *akshara* as श, but the facsimile shows the reading तेन to be correct

2 Bhagvanlal doubtfully read दगज and gave दवन as a possible reading Buhler admitted that दव was clear The intended word may be दवर- or possibly दपर-

3 Bhagvanlal and, following him, Buhler read द्भुवि, but the second *akshara* is clearly ति, as its curve is not closed at the bottom The preceding *akshara* is probably द्यु

4 Bhagvanlal omitted the *akshara* preceding चन्द्रा, but Buhler read the name as सुचन्द्रा The *akshara* preceding चन्द्रा does not, however, appear like सु and has, besides, a curve at the top The repetition of चन्द्र in the verse suggests that the name of the queen ended in चन्द्र and may have been अतिचन्द्रा

5 These three *aksharas* were read by me for the first time The description is evidently suggested by the name *Atichandrā*

6 Metre *Indravajrā* (or *Upajāti*)

7 This expression has been variously read Bhau Daji read it as धराधिपत्ये प्रथमावतारम् Bhagvanlal's reading was एकाधिपत्यप्रथमावतारम्, which Buhler changed into एकाधिपत्य प्रथमो बभार The facsimile will show that the correct reading is as given above

8 Bhau Daji first read the name as रविसाम्ब and the reading has been adopted by subsequent editors The first *akshara* has a somewhat peculiar form, but in view of the names *Haṁsāmba* and *Śaṁsāmba* occurring in v 3, it is not unlikely that the intended name was *Ravisāmba*

9 Metre *Upajāti*

10 These four *aksharas* read by me for the first time are almost certain

11 Bhagvanlal and Buhler read नुताभ्याममिभूय.

12 Metre of verses 10-13 *Vamśastha*

13 These seven *aksharas* are almost certain

14 Bhau Daji and Bhagvanlal read विजहृतो which is ungrammatical The correct reading was first given by Buhler

15 This word is completed here for the first time

16 Bhau Daji read प्रेत्य च नित्यताशनि, while Bhagvanlal gave only प्र शनि Buhler suggested गास्यत शनि The *akshara* following प्रा is undoubtedly ख्य See the form of ख्य in धराधिपाख्याम् in line 9 above. The following *aksharas* also are not very doubtful अनित्य is repeated in the next verse

13 ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –, ⏑ – – ⏑ धैर्य्यादिव कायधीरुज[1] [।*] अनित्यसज्ञासचिव-[2]
स्ततःपर व्यवीवृधत्पुण्यमहामहीरुहम् ॥ [१३॥*]
14 ⏓ – ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – –, ⏓ – ⏑ – – नुजाततोषा[न्] [।*] भूयश्श्रुतत्यागदयाप्रमोद-
मैत्रीक्षमावीर्य्यधियस्सिषेवे[3] ॥ [१४॥*]
15 ⏓ – ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – –, ⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – नरेन्द्रान् [।*] प्रशस्तवृत्तान्सुविशुद्धवृत्तो
वृत्तेन सभ्यानुचितोनुचक्रे[4] ॥ [१५॥*]
16 ⏓ – ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – –, ⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – चकार [।*] अन्यार्त्थिकस्यार्त्थिजन[5]स्तथैव
कीर्त्ति कृतार्त्थ प्रथयाम्बभूव[6] ॥ [१६॥*]
17 ⏓ – ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – –, ⏓ – ⏑ – [या]न्भ[य]विप्लुताक्षान् [।*] अमूमुचद्वित्तविसर्ग-
शक्त्या पुत्रानिवेष्टा[7]न्करुणाभिमृष्ट ॥ [१७॥*]
18 ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – –, ⏑ – ⏑ – – प्रणयेन पुत्रवत् [।*] अनूचिवा(वान्) सोपि हि
यस्य हृद्गता विद[न्] नृवध्याशय[8]शुद्धिसम्पदम्[9] ॥ [१८॥*]
19 ⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ – –, ⏓ – ⏑ – – करांणि सद्य [।*] सर्व्वज्ञभावप्रणिधानसिद्धि
सत्याभिधाना[10] विभवादपेयु[11] ॥ [१९॥*]
20 ⏓ – ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – –, ⏓ – ⏑ [स*]म्भारचयाधियोगा[त्*][12][।*] यशोंशुभि[13]श्चन्द्र-
मरीचिशुभ्रैर्ज्जगत्समग्र समलङ्चकार[14] ॥ [२०॥*]
21 ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –, ⏑ ⏑ – - वदनारविन्दचन्द्रे [।*] परिपालयति[15] क्षितीन्द्रचन्द्रे
हरिषेणे हितकारिणि प्रजानाम्[16] ॥ [२१॥*]
22 ⏓ – ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – –, ⏓ – ⏑ नत्यद्भुतपुण्यराशि [।*] चक्रे भुव[17] स्तूपविहारभूपा
दानोदयैश्चार्त्थिजनप्रमोदम्[18]॥ [२२॥*]

---

1 This expression was completely read for the first time by me

2 This expression has been read variously, *viz*, अनित्यसज्ञासचिव- (Bhau Daji), अचित्यराज्ञासचिव- (Bhagvanlal) and अचित्यसज्ञासचिव- (Buhler) The second अक्षर is undoubtedly नि, and the fifth ज्ञा, the upturned curve of the medial *ā* being unmistakable The correct reading is therefore the one given by Bhau Daji, though his interpretation was wrong

3 Metre of verses 14 and 15 *Upajāti*

4 All previous editors read साम्यक्षुभितोनुचक्रे, but the reading is not supported by the facsimile and gives no good sense The third *akshara* is clearly नु, and the fourth probably चि The only possible reading appears to be सभ्यानुचितोनुचक्रे

5 Bhau Daji read अन्यार्थिकस्यार्थिजन-, but Bhagvanlal omitted the second *akshara*, while Buhler gave आर्त्थिकस्यार्थिजन which does not, however, suit the metre The *aksharas* are quite unmistakable here

6 Metre of vv 16 and 17 —*Indravajrā* (or *Upajāti*)

7 Bhagvanlal read पुत्राभिचेष्टान् and Buhler, पुत्राविचेष्टान्, but neither of these suits the context Besides, the *akshara* before ष्टा is clearly वे, not चे, thus showing the correct reading to be as given above

8 Read नृवद्धचा-

9 Metre *Vamśiastha*

10 Bhau Daji read सत्याभिवानानि, and Bhagvanlal, सत्याभिधानाभिभवात् The context shows that this verse gives the words of the parrot, pointing out the obstacles of wealth in the attainment of the highest goal

11 Metre *Indravajrā* (or *Upajāti*)

12 Bhagvanlal read म्बारचयाधियोग, while Buhler was certain only about the *aksharas* च and योग The subscript member of the first legible *akshara* is clearly भ, and the use of अधियोग suggested that the expression ended in the ablative, though the final त् is not now legible

13 Bhagvanlal read यशोम्बुभि, which Buhler corrected into यशोशुभि The facsimile leaves no doubt that Buhler's reading is correct

14 Metre *Upēndravajrā* or *Upajāti*

15 There is a redundant vertical stroke after ल

16 Metre *Aupachchhandasika*

17 Buhler's emandation भुव is unnecessary as the *visarga* is dropped by the *Vārttika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36

18 Metre of verses 22 and 23 *Indravajrā* (or *Upajāti*)

23 – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – –, – – – ⏑ नाकुलनादवद्भि[1] [।*] नित्य वितानार्थधिया वहद्भिरम्भोधरैश्श्रीमति सह्यपादे[2] ॥ [२३॥*]
24 ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – –, ⏑ – – ⏑ गाम्भीर्य्यगुणैरुपेतम् [।*] निवेशितान्तर्मुनिराजचैत्य-मेकाश्मक मण्डपरत्नमेतत्[3] ॥ [२४॥*]
25 ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – –, ⏑ – – ⏑ – – विपुला विसृज्य [।*] अचीकरद्दित्यम[4]मानकल्प-[5]मल्पात्मभि कल्पनयाप्यशक्यम् ॥ [२५॥*]
26 ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – –, ⏑ – – ⏑ – – नयनाभिरामम् [।*] न्यवीविशत्साधुलघुप्रसन्न-[6]शीतप्रकामाम्बुमहानिधानम् ॥ [२६॥*]
27 ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – –, ⏑ – – ⏑ न्नेत्रमनोभिरामम् [।*] अन्यागदेशेस्य दिशि प्रतीच्या-मचीकरद्गन्धकुटीमुदाराम् ॥ [२७॥*]
28 ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –, [जग*]द्धितायोद्यतसर्व्वकर्म्मण[.] [।*] मुनीन्द्रभाव-[7]प्रणिधानसिद्धये भवन्त्वभीष्टा भुवि सर्व्वसम्पद[8] ॥ [२८॥*]
29 ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –, ⏑ – – ⏑ सप्रणयेन मण्डप [।*] करोतु तावत्कुशलोदय सता विहन्ति[9] यावद्रविरशुभस्तिम ॥ [२९॥*]

Translation[10]

(Verse 1) Having bowed to the sage (Buddha) who has completely mastered the three lores and who is a thunderbolt[11] to the tree of worldly existence, . . . I will set forth a description of the excellences of the donor of the *Vihāra*, whose deeds are pure

(V. 2) To the lord of man (named . . .), who wore a parasol (*over his head*) and who made his name significant by the protection of the people, was born a son, **Dhritarāshtra** by name, who had a white parasol

(V. 3) [The son] of that king was **Harisāmba,** whose face was lovely as a lotus and the moon. Again, the son of that king was king **Śaurisāmba,** endowed with spotless beauty

(V. 4) The resplendent **Upēndragupta** of wide-spread fame. [was begotten] by him. Then he had a younger son who became well-known as king **Kācha (I).**

(V 5) [From him was descended].. . **Bhikshudāsa** in order to deposit his splendour and glory [on the earth.] A son of that lord of men was a king named **Nīladāsa,** renowned on the earth.

---

1 Bhau Daji read as here, but Bhagvanlal proposed to read नानिलनादवद्भि, which does not, however, make a good sense Buhler omitted two *aksharas* before नाद

2 This hemistich was first completely read by me. Previous editors had missed the interesting refers to the Ajantā hill as सह्यपाद.

3 Metre of verses 24-27: *Upajāti*

4 All previous editors read अचीकरच्चैत्यम् here, but the conjunct consonant after र is clearly द्द not च्च. दित्य in the sense of a gift occurs in some records of the period

5 Previous readings of this expression were मिहानकल्पम् (Bhaū Daji and Buhler) and महीनकल्पम् (Buhler) The curve on the first म, appears to have been cancelled The following *akshara* must be read as मा It is not ही

6 Bhagvanlal read प्रसन्नं, but the facsimile does not show an *anusvāra* on न्न.

7 Bhau Daji's incorrect reading मुनीन्द्रनाथ has been repeated by both Bhagvanlal and Bühler. It involves tautology. With the reading given above, compare सर्वज्ञभावप्रणिधानसिद्धिम् in verse 19 above.

8 Metre of verses 28 and 29 *Vamśastha*

9 Bhau Daji correctly read विहन्ति, but Bhagvanlal's misreading निहन्ति was repeated by Bühler

10 In this translation I have derived some help from Dr Buhler's rendering, though I have differed from him in the interpretation of some passages.

11 The poet is fond of using *aśani* (a thunderbolt) in the sense of an instrument of destruction See V. 12. below

(V 6) His son of brilliant fame became well known as **Kācha (II).** Then to that king was born **Krishnadāsa,** who augmented the splendour of (*his*) race and line

(V 7) His wife was **Atichandrā,**[1], the daughter (*of*) clad in garments as white as the rays of the moon, whose face resembled the full moon and whose ornaments were modesty and virtuous conduct

(Vv 8-9) [He] obtained (*her*) who brightened the land in the form of suppliants[2] From her he had two sons resembling Pradyumna and Sāmba, who had longish, lotus-like eyes and lovely bodies like burnished gold The elder (*of them*) bore the title of a king, while the second bore the appellation **Ravisāmba.**

(V 10) Having subjugated prosperous countries such as **Aśmaka** [the two princes] whose prowess had become fruitful, shone like the sun and the moon.

(V 11) While they, whose honour was dependent on and whose creeper-like affection and glory had grown very much, were living always in concord and happiness,—

(V 12) [Fate] whose decree is not to be evaded even by superhuman beings and whose dread power was produced by the deeds done in a previous life[3], announced the thunderbolt of impermanence in the case of the younger (*brother*)

(V 13) [Having oversome] as if with firmness, the diseases of the body and the mind, [the elder brother] , having always the consciousness of transience,[4] made thereafter the great tree of religious merit grow

(V 14) He served those[5] who , who possessed great learning, liberality, compassion, contentment, friendship, forgiveness, courage and wisdom, and who felt pleased with

(V 15) He, who was of pure conduct, habitually imitated in his deeds honourable kings of noble conduct

(V 16) He made The suppliants being satisfied (*with gifts*) spread, in the same way, the fame of other suppliants[6].

---

[1] Buhler restored the queen's name as *Suchandrā* That the name ended in *chandra* is certain, but the first part of it was probably *ati*, rather than *su* See above, p 125, n 4

[2] The description is probably suggested by the queen's name *Atichandrā* (one who has surpassed the moon)

[3] Bhagvanlal took this as the description of the elder brother who he thought, murdered the younger brother, but Buhler rightly inferred that the meaning of the verse was that the younger brother perished suddenly by an accident or died of a disease

[4] The use of the word *sachiva* in *anitya-samjñā-sachivah* has misled all previous editors They took *anitya*, *achintya* or *achitya* as the name of the minister who, they thought had donated the *Vihāra* But why the minister should come in abruptly here has not been stated The *Amarakōsha* gives two senses of *sachiva* (i) a minister, and (ii) an associate Cf Mantrī sahāyah sachivau (*Amarakosha*, III, 207) At the end of a compound, *sachiva* conveys the sense of 'assisted by' or 'provided with' (Monier-Williams) To illustrate this sense the *St Petersberg Dictionary* cites the following passage from Śankara's *Bhāshya* on the *Chhāndōgya Upanishd* (1, 2)—doshavad-ghrāna-sachivatvāt viddhā ghrāna-dēvatā *Anitya-samjña-sachivah*, therefore, means that the elder brother was always conscious of the transitoriness of life. *Anitya-samjñā* (Pali, *anichcha-saññā*) is mentioned in Buddhist literature as an object of meditation, which destroys the sense of *ahankāra* (Pali, *asmi-māna*) Cf anichcha-saññā bhāvetabbā asmi-māna-samugghātāya (Udāna, IV, 1) The verse therefore states that the elder brother, being always mindful of the impermanence of existence, engaged himself in the acquisition of religious merit The donor of the *Vihāra* was this elder brother of Ravisāmba, not his minister

[5] These were probably Buddhist monks

[6] The meaning of the verse seems to be that the king bestowed so much wealth on suppliants that they themselves made munificent gifts to others which made them famous

(V 17) He released by the power of the expenditure of wealth whose eyes were suffused through fear, as though they were his (*own*) dear sons[1]

(V 18) Even he who had been treated affectionately like a son repeated, like a knowing human being, the excellent and pure thoughts in his heart[2]

(V 19) " (Rich persons) failed to attain, because of their wealth, the *siddhi* rightly so called (*obtainable*) by devout meditation on the Omniscient (Buddha) "[3]

(V 20) He adorned the whole world by the light of his fame, bright like the rays of the moon . by collecting materials

(V 21) While that moon among the princes, **Harishēna,** whose face resembles a lotus and the moon, and who does what is beneficial for (*his*) subjects is protecting the earth

(V 22) He, who has a very marvellous store of merit adorned the earth with *Stūpas* and *Vihāras*, and caused the joy of suppliants by conferring gifts (*on them*)

(V 23) On a spur of the **Sahya** (*mountain*), looking beautiful with clouds, which, with the confused noise of always pass over it (*as if*) to provide it with a canopy[4]

(V 24) [He excavated] this monolithic excellent Hall, containing within it a *Chaitya* of the king of ascetics (i e , of the Buddha) and possessing the qualities of stateliness

(V 25) Having expended abundant [wealth], he caused to be made this donated [*Hall*] which is almost measureless and which cannot be even imagined by little-souled men

(V 26) He caused to be dug (*near it*) a large cistern pleasing to the eyes and filled with sweet, light, clear, cold and copious water

(V 27) delightful to the eyes and the mind In another part of it in the west he caused to be made a grand *Gandhakutī*[5]

(V 28) May all the blessings desired for the attainment of *siddhi* caused by devout meditation on the lord of sages (i e Buddha) attend him[6], who in all his deeds strives for the welfare of the people !

(V 29) May this Hall out of affection cause the attainment of well-being by good people as long as the sun dispels darkness by its rays !

---

[1] This seems to refer to the release from bondage of animals as well as human beings Compare the fifth Pillar Edict of Aśōka, which interdicts the capture of animals in certain seasons of the year

[2] Bhagvanlal, being probably misled by the word *vadhya*, wholly misunderstood the purport of the verse and translated it as follows —' [The minister] who, though he knew that the king had acquired in his heart a conscience purified from murderous tendencies did not disclose ' Buhler thought that the text was corrupt here and took the sense to be that even learned men had to acknowledge the minister's purity of heart Both these renderings are incorrect The verse probably refers to a domesticated parrot kept in the palace, which, like a knowing human being (*vidan-nrivat*) repeated the thoughts in the prince's heart

[3] These are probably the words uttered by the parrot They point out the obstacle caused by wealth in the attainment of *siddhi* Buhler, who did not risk a translation, thought that the general sense of the verse was that misfortunes fled (*apēyuh*) from the pious minister, being overcome by his supplications (*pranidhāna*) addressed to Buddha (*sarvajñabhāva*) This is wide of the mark

[4] Buhler has omitted this verse completely in his translation

[5] Bhagvanlal thought that the *Gandhakutī* was Cave XVIII, from which an image of the Buddha had been removed Buhler's rendering ' on the other side of this (Buddha's) body on the left ' is obviously incorrect The reference is undoubtedly to the Chaitya Cave XIX, which actually lies to the west of Cave XVII

[6] This probably refers to the prince who caused Cave XVII to be excavated.

INDEX

The Arabic numerals refer to the pages of the Texts and Translations, and the Roman numerals to those of the Introduction, *n* after a numeral to foot-notes The following other abbreviations also have been used —*au* =author, *Br* =Brāhmana, *ca* =capital, *ch* =chief, *ci* =city, *co* =country, *com* =commentator, *dt* =district, *dy* =dynasty, *engr* =engraver, *ep* =epithet, *f* =female, *feu* = feudatory, *k* =king, *l* =locality, *m* =male, *min* =minister, *mo* =mountain, *n* =name, *off* =officer, *pr* =prince, *q* =queen *ri* =river, *s a* =same as, *t d* =territorial division, *te* =temple, *tit* =title, *tn* =town, *vi* =village, *wk* =work

A

Abhinavagupta, *Sanskrit au* , lv
Ābhīra, *dy* 124, xvii, xix
Achalapura, *tn* , 29, xxxiii *n*
Āchārya, *scribe*, 32, 64, 68
āddhaka, 'a *half*' 95 *n*
Adhirāja, *tit* , xix
Adhyaksha, 'Head of a department', xxxvii
Ādityasēna, *Later Gupta k* , ii
Adūni, *vi* , xvii
Agnishtōma, *Vedic sacrifice*, 10, 14, 95, 98, xvi, xix *n*
agrahāra, 'a *grant of land*', xxxix
Agra-mahishī, '*Crowned Queen*', xxxvii, xliv
āhāra, *t d* , 6, 7, 9, 11, 14, xxxiv
ai, initial, 33, 69
Ajakurni, *vi* , 64, 65, 68
Ajangaon, *vi* , 65
Ajaṇṭā, paintings at xlvi-lii
Ajantā Cave XVI, 112, xli, xlv, xlvi, lxv
Ajantā Cave XVII, 120, 121 and *n* , xlii, xlv-xlvii, lxv, lxix
Ajantā Cave XIX, xlii, xlv, xlvi, lxv, lxxiii
Ajantā Cave Inscription of Varāhadēva 95, 96, 103 f , i , iii, xxix, xxxi-xxxix, liv
Ajantā Cave XVII, Inscription in, 120 f
Ajātaśatru, *k* of Magadha, lxvii, lxxii
Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā, *Vākāṭaka*, *q* , 80, 81, xxv, xxxvii
Ājñapti, *s a* *Dūtaka*, *off* , 98, xxxviii
Ākāspadda, *donated vi* , 94, 96, 98
Alakā, *ci* , 35
Allāhābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, 3, 6 *n* , xxi, liii
āmalaka, *a kind of finial*, lxxiii, lxxiv
Āmalakī ēkādaśī, xliii
Amarāvatī, *l* , xiv, xl
Āmlā, *vi* , 44, 65
Ānandavardhana, *Sanskrit au* , liv, lvi, lvii and *n*
Ānatti, *s a* *Ājñapti*, *off* , 97 *n* , 98 *n*
Andhra, *co* , 106, 107, 110, xix, xxii, xxxi, xxxiii
Andhra, *dy* , xvii
angada, '*an armlet*', l
Angōrā, *vi* , lxii
anitya-saṃjñā, 'consciousness of transitoriness', 122 *n* , 126 *n* , 128 *n*
Añjanavātaka, *s a* Anjanvāḍī, *vi* , 39, 40, 42
Anjanvāḍī, *vi* , 40
antarāla, '*ante-chamber*', lxxi, lxxv
antarāvasāka, '*a lower garment*', lxix
antarīyaka, '*a lower garment*', xlvii
anulōma marriage xliv
Aparānta, *s a* , North Konkaṇ, 107
apara-patta, '*western division*', 48, 49, 51
Apsaras, flying, a painting of lxvii
Āptōryāma, *Vedic sacrifice*, 10, 14, 15, 98, xvi, xix
Ārāmaka, *vi* , 43, 44, 46, xxxiv
Ārammi, *l* , 43, 44, 46, xxxv
Ārammi-rājya, *t d* , 64, 65, 68, xxx
Ārang plates of Bhīmasēna, 83, 84, xx *n* , xxvi, xxx
Ārang plates of Mahā-Jayarāja, xxxiv
ardhōruka, '*a lower garment*', xlvii, lxx
Arnōrī, *vi* , 3
Arthapati, *Nala k* , 90 xxvii and *n* , xxxvii *n*
Arthaśāstra, *Sanskrit wk* of *Kauṭilya*, 81, xxxix
Ārvi, *tl* , 44
Āryāvarta, '*North India*', 3, xxi and *n*
Asaka, *s a* Asmaka, *co* , 123
Asi-bhukti, *t d* , 17, 81, 21, xxxv
Asika, *s a* , Rishīka, *co* , 123
Asmaka, *co* , 112 and *n* , 114, 120, 122, 123, 128 xxx and *n* , xxxii
Asōka, *Maurya k* , 2, 3, 39, xix *n* , xxi xxxviii
Aśvaghōsha, *Sanskrit poet*, lxviii
Asvamēdha, *Vedic sacrifice*, 10, 14 95, 98, v, vii, xi , xx, xxii *n* , xxxiii, xl
Aśvatthakhētaka, *vi* , 58, 59, 61, xxxv, xli
Aśvatthanagara, *tn* , 34, 35, 37, xxxv
Ātharvanika-charaṇa, *s a* Atharvavēda, 99
Atharvavēda, xlv
Atichandrā, *q* , 122 *n* , 128
Atirātra, *Vedic sacrifice*, 10 14, xvi, xix
Atyagnishtoma, *Vedic sacrifice*, xix *n*
au, initial, 82
au, medial, bipartite, 10, 33, 48, 57, 63, 69, 73, 76, 93, 103, 121
Avanti, *s a* Western Mālava, *co* , 106, 107, 110 ix, xxxi
Avantisundarīkathā, *Sanskrit wk* , xxxiii *n* , liv, lvii, lviii
Avantisundarīkathāsāra, *Sanskrit wk* , xxxiii
Avidhēya, *Early Rāshṭrakūṭa k* , xxi

B

b, square in form, 28, 37, 43 48
b, with a notch in the left limb, 28, 33, 37, 43, 48
b, without a notch in the left limb, 57
b, subscript, 48
Bādāmī, *ca* , xxxvii
Badarikāgrāma, *vi* , 64 65, 68
Badgaon, *vi* , 29
Bahmanī, *vi* , 29
Bahuribandh, *vi* , lxii
Bālāghāt *tn* , 69, 79
Bālāghāt plates of Prithivīshena II, 77, 79f , 83, 89, 90, xxi, xxvii
Bamhanī, *vi* , 82, 83, xxxiv
Bamhanī plates of Bharatabala 82 f , 90, 91 *n* , xxi, xxvi, xxxix i, lviii
Bāna, *Sanskrit au* , xxvi, lxii
Bāndhogadh, *fort* , 29, 32, xxxviii, xli
Bāppa, *off* , 27
Bappārya, *Br* *donee*, 39
Bāppārya, *Br* *donee*, lxviii
Bappuka, *Buddhist monk*,

Barah plate of Bhōjadēva, 17
Bāsim, *tn*, 93, 96
Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, 89, 102 and *n*, 105, iii, xx, xxix, xxx, xxxv *n*, xlv, liii
Bēlorā, *vi*, 16, 18
Bēlōrā plates of Pravarasēna II (Sets A and B), 16 f, 23, 64, xxxiv, xxxv *n*
Bēmbāl, *vi*, 80
Bēnī, *vi*, 49
Bēnnā, *s a* Waingangā, *ri*, 29, xxxiv
Bēnnākārpara-bhōga, *t d*, 29, 31, 49, 70, xxxiv
Bennākata, *t d*, 49, 51, xxxiv
Bētul plates of Sankshobha, lviii
Bhāddilajja (Bhādilārya), *Br donee*, 99
bhāga, tax, 88 *n*, xxxix
Bhagadatta, *Bhāra k*, xix
Bhagavat, s a, Vishnu, 6, 8, 34, 39, 42, 80
Bhairavagadh, *fort*, 49
Bhāgirathī, *ri*, 10, 14
Bhāra, *s a* Bhāraśiva, *dy*, xix
Bhāraśiva, *dy*, 10, 14, 38, 76, xix, xxi
Bharata, *s a* Bharatabala, *Pāndava feu*, 83, 87
Bharatabala, *Pāndava, feu*, 9 *n*, 83, 84, xiii, xxvi, xxxiv, xxxvi, lxiii
Bhartrisvāmin, *Br donee*, 27
bhata, '*a soldier*', 9 *n*, 84, xxxvii-xxxix
Bhātkuli, *vi*, 23
Bhattidevajja (Bhartridēvārya), *Br donee*, 99
Bhavabhūti, *Sanskrit au*, 77, 78, xxvii, xl *n*
Bhavadattavarman, *Nala k*, 77, ix, xxvii, xxxvii *n*
Bhavanāga, *Bhāraśiva k*, 10, 14, 76, xx, xxi
Bhavasvāmin, *Br donee*, 101, 102
Bhavirāja, *min*, 112 *n*
Bhikshudāsa, *feu*, 120, 122, 127
Bhīmasēna I, *k of the Śūra dy*, 83, xxvi
Bhīmasēna II, *k of the Śūra dy*, 83, xxvi
Bhitāri pillar inscription, 6 *n*
Bhivagadh, *fort*, xxiii
Bhōga, tax, 82 *n*
bhōga, t d, 43, xxxii, xxxiv, xxxix *n*
Bhōja, *Sanskrit au*, lv
Bhōjadeva, *Sanskrit au*, lvi
Bhōjaka, *off*, 101, 102
Bhōjakadēvārya, *Br donee*, 26
Bhōjakata, *t d*, 23, 26, 49 *n*, xxxiv, xxxv
Bhōjārya, *Br donee*, 64, 68
Bhuktaka, *m*, 37
bhukti, t d, xxxiv, xxxv
Bhuvanapāla, *com*, lvi
Bibhīshana, *k of the Śūra dy*, 83
Bimbisāra, *k of Magadha*, lxxi
Bōdhika, *Buddhist monk*, xxiv, xl
Bonthikavātaka, *s a* Bōthad, vi, 11, 14, xxxv
Bōrgaon, *vi*, 65
Bōthad, *vi*, 11
Brāhmaṇas— their names, xlv, their Śākhās, xlv, their professions, xlv
Brāhmanavātaka, *s a* Brāhmaṇwādā, *vi*, 64, 68
Brāhmanwādā, *vi*, 29, 70
Brahmapūraka, *vi*, 28, 31, 70, 71
Brihaspatisava, *Vedic sacrifice*, 10, 14, 95, 98, xvi, xix *n*
Brihatkathā, Paisāchī wk, 96 and *n*, xxxix *n*
Brihatkathāmañjarī, Sanskrit wk, 96, xxxix *n*
Brihatphalāyana, *dy*, 93
Brihatsamhitā, Sanskrit wk, xxxiii
Buddha, 106, 107, 113, 117
Buddha, image of, 106, xli, xlii, lxvii, lxix, lxxv
Buddhajja (Buddhārya), *Br donee*, 99

C

Cave-Temples, lxv f
Chaitya, *Buddhist temple*, xvii
Chaitya cave at Ajantā, xlii
Chaitya cave at Kārlā, xlvi
Chaitya-mandira, 109 *n*, iii, *n*, lxvi, lxxv
Chaitya-vātāyana, '*a Chaitya window*', lxxv
Chaitya window, xlvi
Chakradāsa, *m*, 9
Chakradēva, *off*, 11, 15
Chhātra, '*a policeman*', 9 *n*, xxxvii, xxxviii
Chakrapāni, *s a*, Vishnu, 3, 11, 13, xxxvi, xli
Chālukyas, Early, 96 *n*
Chhappannaya, *s a* Shat-pañchāśat, 'a Society of fifty-six poets', lviii
Chhēka-bhanita, '*a clever saying*', lviii
Chamidāsa, *scribe*, 49, 52, xxxvii, xxxviii, xlv
Chammak, *vi*, 22, 23
Chammak plates of Pravarasēna II, 6, 17, 22, 104, 106, xxxiv
Chamunā, *f*, xiv
Chanakā, *Vākātaka ca*, xii
Chanālasvāmin, *Br*, 6, 9, xliv
Chāndaja (Chandrārya), *Br donee*, 99
Chhāndōgya Upanishad, 128 *n*
Chāndpur, *vi*, 50
Chandra, *merchant*, 39, 42, xli, xlv
Chandrabhāgā, *ri*, 44, xxxv
Chandragupta I, *Gupta k*, 6, 8, 37
Chandragupta II, *Gupta k*, 3, 6, 8, 11, 17, 22, 34, 37, 106, v, xiii, xxx and *n*, xxxvi *n*, xli, liii, lvi
Chāndrapura, *vi*, 48, 49, 52
Chandrapura-sangamikā, 43, 44, 47
Chāndur, *vi*, 41
characters—
box-headed, 2, 5, 10, 16, 22, 28, 33, 43, 48, 53, 57, 63, 69, 73, 76, 79, 89, 90, 93, 101, 103, 113, 121
Brāhmī, 1
nail-headed, 5, 82, 90
Charmānka, *s a* Chammak, *vi*, 23, 26, xxxv
chāta, '*a policeman*', 9 *n*, xxxvii
chatula-tilaka, '*a head-ornament*, li
Chichōlī, *vi*, 11
Chikkamburi, *s a* Chikmārā, *vi*, 2, 4, xl, lx
Chikmārā, *vi*, 4, xl
Chiñchāpallī, *vi*, 11
Chinchmandal, *vi*, 54
Chinese, *race*, xlvii
Chitravarman, *Sēnāpati*, 17, 21, 23, 27, xxxviii, xlv
chōllaka, '*a water-pot*', 99 *n*
Chutukulānanda Sātakarni, *k*, 39
consonant, final, 28, 33, 57, 76, 113

D

ḍ, angular, 121
d, round-backed, 5, 10, 33, 76, 79
ḍ, not distinguished from *d* 28, 48, 77.
Dakshiṇāpatha, *co*, 96, xxix *n*
Dāmōdara, *Sanskrit poet*, xxxiii *n*

Dāmodarasēna, s a Pravarasēna II, *Vākāṭaka k*, 35, vi, vii, ix, xxiii and *n*
Daṇḍanāyaka, military off, 101, 102, xxxviii
daṇḍanīti, '*science of politics*', xxxii
Daṇḍin, *Sanskrit au*, i, xxxii, xxxiii and *n*, liii, lx
Danguna, *s a* Hinganghāt, 6, 7, 9, xxxv, xliv
Darbhamalaka, *vi*, 43, 47
Darbhapatha, *vi*, 64, 68
Darbhavinaka, *vi*, 70, 71, xxxv
Daśakumāracharita, Sanskrit wk, 123, 124, vi, xxv *n*, xxxii-xxxiii, xxxvii *n*
Daśapura, *s a* Mandasor, *tn*, xxvi
Dauvārika, '*Head of the village police*', 84, xxxix *n*
Dayitavarman II, *k of the Śūra dy*, 83
Dēarya (Dēvārya), *Br donee*, 99
Dēori, *vi*, lxii
Dēotēk, *vi*, 1, xii, xxi
Dēotēk stone inscription of Rudrasēna I, 1 f, xxi
Dēva, *min*, 113, 114, 118, xvi, xx, xl
Dēv-Baranārk pillar inscription, 7
Dēvagupta, *s a* Chandragupta II, *Gupta k*, 6, 7, 11, 13, 17, 22, 26, 28, 31, 41, 43, 46, 51, 53, 56, 58, 61, 64, 67, ii
Dēvagupta, *k of Later Gupta dy*, 7, ii
Dēvagupta, *poet*, lviii
dēvakulī, '*a small temple*', xlvi *n*
Dēvanandasvāmin, *off*, 34, 37, xlv
Dēvarāja, *s a* Dēvasēna, *Vākāṭaka k*, 112 & *n*, 114 & *n*, 119 & *n*
Dēvarāja, *Early Rāshṭrakūṭa k*, xxv, xxx
Dēvārya, *Br. donee*, 26, 39
Dēvaśarman, *Br donee*, 26
Dēvaśarmāchārya, *Br donee*, 28, 31
Dēvaśarmārya *Br donee* 27
Dēvasēna, *Vākāṭaka k*, 101-103, 106, 110, 112, 114, 118, 119 *n*, vi, vii, xvi, xxx-xxxi, his *ca* Vatsagulma, xxx, his *min* Hastibhōja xxx-xxxi, his reign-period, xxxi
Dhruvādhikaraṇika, s a Dauvārika, off, 84, 88, xxxix
Dhanakaṭaka, *l*, xv
Dhamma, 'Buddhist religion', 106, 113
dhamma-chakka-pavattana-mudrā, xlii, lxvi, lxix, lxxi, lxxv
Dhammadatta, *Buddhist monk*, lxviii
Dharmamahārāja, ep, 91, 95, 98, xv, xix and *n*, xxix, xxx, xxxvi
Dharmamahāmātra, off, 2, 4, xix *n*
Dharmārya, *Br donee*, 27
Dharmārya, another *Br donee*, 64, 68
Dharmasthāna, '*a place of religious worship*', 2, 11, 17, 29, 38, 49 *n*, 99 *n*, xxi, xl, lx
Dharmasvāmin, *Br donee*, 101, 102
Dharmavijayin, '*a righteous conqueror*', *ep*, xix *n*, xxxv
Dhṛitarāshṭra, *Jur*, 20, 121, 127
Dhruvavāṭika, *vi*, 64, 68
Dhvanyāloka, Sanskrit wk, liv, lv, lvii *n*
Dighadraha, *s a*, Dighi, *vi*, 7, 18, 21
Divākarasēna, *Vākāṭaka pr*, 6, 9, vi, vii, ix, xxiii and *n*, xxix, xxxvii, xliv, liii, his *subhāshita*, liii
Divyāvadāna, Buddhist wk, lxxii
Draviḍa, *co*, xv
drishṭam, '*seen*', *initial word indicating completion of a charter*, 6, 10, 17, 33, 48, 53, 58, 64, 77, 80, 83, 87
Drōṇabhaṭṭārikā, *Pāṇḍava q*, 84, xxxix
Drōṇāgraka, *t d*, 84, 88, xxxix
Drōṇāgrakanāyaka, '*ch of a Drōṇāgraka*', 84, xxxix *n*,
Drōṇamukha, t d, 39
Drōṇārya, *Br donee*, 43
Durdha, *vi*, 6, 43 f, xxxiv
Durdha plates of Pravarasēna II,
Durg plate of a Vākāṭaka king, 76 f
Dūtaka, off, 11, 15, 34, 75, xxxviii and *n*, xlv
Dvivēda, ep, xliv

E

e, initial, 82
Edengā, *vi*, xxvii
Ekādaśī, a fasting day, 6, xli-xliii
Ekārjunaka, *vi*, 53, 54, 56
Eras—
  Ganga, xxxi
  Gupta, 91, xxii, *n* xxviii, lxiii
  Kalachuri, xxxii
Ērai, *ri*, 44, 54, xxxv
Ēraṇ stone inscription of Samudragupta, 90

F

fortnight in season dates—
  first in Hēmanta, 95, 100
  fourth in Varshā, 44, 47
  seventh in Varshā, 64, 68

G

g, form of, 54
Gadeghāt, *vi*, lv
galitaka, metre, 113
Gaṇa, s a Saṅgha, Community of Buddhist Monks, 11
gaṇa-hōma, a ritual, xxl
Gaṇapati Nāga, *Nāga k*, 26
Ganārya, *Br donee*, 11, 14, xl *n*
gaṇa-yāga, a ritual, xl *n*, xlv
gaṇa-yājin, ep, 84, 88, xxxix
Gandaka, *off*, 121 and *n* 129 *n*, xvii, lxxiii, lxxiv
Gandhakuṭī, *Buddhist tc*, x, xxiii
Ganga, *dy*, xxx *n*
Gaṇēśapurāṇa, Sanskrit wk, xx
Gaṅgā, *ri*, 70 72
Gaṅgārya, *Br donee*, lv
Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭa, *com*, 92
Ganj, *vi*, 92, v, xii, xix, xxvii, lxiv
Ganj stone inscription of Vyāghradēva,
Gardabhila, *dy*, xvii
gāthās, Prakrit, xxix, lv-lvii
Gāthāsaptaśatī, Prakrit anthology, xxix, xxiv, lvii
Gautamīputra, *Vākāṭaka pr*, 10, 14, 35 *n*, 95, iii, ix, xx, xxi and *n*
Gayākarṇa, *Kalachuri k*, lxii
Gēpuraka, *l*, 39, 40, 41
Gēpuraka-mārga, *t d*, xxxv, *n*
Ghāṭ Lāḍkī, *vi*, 18
Ghaṭōtkacha, *Gupta k*, 6, 8, 37
Ghaṭōtkacha Cave, 112, 114, xlii, xlv, lxxii, lxxv
Ghaṭōtkacha Cave inscription, 112 f, xvi, xx, xxx, xliv
Ghughusgadh, *fort*, xxiii
Ghumli plates, 84
Girnār edict of Aśōka, 1
Gōdāvarī, *ri*, xxix
Gōladāsa, *scribe*, 43, 47
Gōndārya, *Br donee*, 39
Gōṇḍaśarman, *pr*, *donee*, 26
gōtras
  Ātrēya, 27
  Bhālandāyana, 99
  Bhāradvāja, 26, 27, 70, 72
  Dhārana, 8, 37
  Gautama, 27

Harkari, 48, 52
Kapiñjala, 99
Kāśyapa, 17, 26
Kauṇḍinya, 11, 26, 27, 43, 47, 64, 70, 72
Kauśika, 43, 47, 99
Kautsa, liii
Lōhitya, 53
Maudgalya, 28
Parāśara, 34, 37
Paippalādi, 99
Pārāśarya, 26
Śāṇḍilya, 27, 101
Śātyāyana, 26, 27
Śrāvishtha, 97 *n*
Śrāvisthhāyana, 97 *n*
Vāji-Kauśika, 39
Vāji-Kauṇḍinya, 66
Vatsa, 83
Vātsya, 26, 27, xlix
Vishṇuvriddha, 10, 14, 96 *n*, xliv
Vishṇuvriddha, *s a* Vishṇuvṛiddha, 93, 96, 98,
Gōvārya, *Br donee,* 39
Govindavarman, *Vishṇukuṇḍin k*, xxxi
Grāmakūṭa, '*headman of a village*', 84, 88, xxxix
Griddhagrāma, *s a* Gadeghāt, *vi*, 54, 56
Grihapati, '*a householder*', xiv, xl
Grihya rites, xl, xliv
Guhaśarman, *Br donee,* 26
Gulma, *m*, 96 and *n*, xxix
Gulwādā, *vi*, 112, xlii
Guṇādhya, *Prakrit au*, 96 *n*, xxix
Gupta, *k*, xv
Gupta, *dy*, 8, 34, 37, xxviii, xxx, xxxvi
Guptas, Later, *dy*, 7
Gupta temple at Devgadh, xli

H

h, with tail sharply turned to left, 5
Hāla, *Sātavāhana k and Prakrit au*, lviii, lix
Haribhadra, *Prakrit au*, lviii
Harichandra, *Br*, 113 *n*
Hariśāmba, *feu*, 120, 122, 127
Hariśarmārya, *Br donee,* 26
Harishēṇa, *Vākāṭaka k*, 103, 104, 106, 110, 112, 114 and *n*, 115, 119 and *n*, 121, 124, 129, i, vi, viii, ix and *n*, xvi, xxxi-xxxiii, xxxvi, xli, xlii, xlvi, lxvi, lxix, lxxiv—his conquests, xxxi, annexed the kingdom of the Main Branch, xxxi, established the Eastern Gangas in Kalinga, xxxi, supplanted Śālankāyana *k*, xxxi, established Vishṇukuṇḍin *k*, Govindavarman, xxxi, his minister Varāhadēva, xxxi, his reign-period, xxxii, his successor, xxxii-xxxiii
Harishēṇa, *off*, liii
Hāritī, *Buddhist goddesss,* xxxvi *n*
Hārīti, *sage* 98 *n*, xxxvi *n*
Hārīti-pañchaśikha, *sage,* 98 *n*
Hārītīputra, ep, 95, 98 and *n*, xv, xxxvi *n*
Harivamsa, Sanskrit wk, xii and *n*, xxxiv *n*
Harivijaya, Prakrit kāvya, xxix, liv-lvi, lviii
harmikā, lxxiv
Harshacharita, Sanskrit wk, xlvii, xlviii, lvi
Hastibhōja, *min of Dēvasēna,* 103, 104, 106, 110, 111, 112 and *n*, 113-115, 118, 119 and *n*, xvi, xxxi
Hemachandra, *Sanskrit and Prakrit au*, 94 *n*, 97 *n*, i, liv, lv & *n*
Hinganghāt, *tn* and *t d*, 7, 12

Hirahadgalli plates of Śivaskanda-varman, 9 *n*, 93, 94, 97 *n*, 99 *n*, xix *n*
Haraṇṇaja (Hiraṇyārya), *Br donee,* 99
Harankhēdī, *vi*, 44
Hiraṇvā, *ri*, 44, 54, 56, xxxv
Hiraṇyapura-bhōga, *t d*, 43, 44, 47, xxxv
Hūṇa, *race,* xxvi
Hūṇa, *dy*, xvii

I

i, initial, 82
i, medial, 69, 103
ī, medial 33, 48, 57, 63, 73, 82, 121
Ikshvāku, *dy*, xvii
Indhyādri, *mo*, xxix
India Office plate of Devasena, 77 *n*, 101 f, xxxv *n*
Indore, *tn*, 38
Indore plates of Pravarasēna II, 38 f, 77, xiii, xxxv *n*, xlv
Indra, flying, painting of, lxx
Indra, *s a* Bharatabala, *Pāṇḍava feu*, 83, 87, xxvi
Indrabhaṭṭārikā, *Pāṇḍava q*, 83, 87
Īśāna, *m*, 83, 88
Īśvara, *goldsmith,* 83, 88
Īśvaradatta, *goldsmith,* 58, 62
Īśvaraśarman, *Br donee,* 27
Īśvarasarmārya, *Br donee,* 27
Īśvarasēna, *Ābhīra k*, v

J

j, 57, 82
Jāika, *Saindhava ch*, 84 *n*
Jamalī, *vi*, 48, 49, 51
Jāmb, *vi*, 10, 11
Jāmb plates of Pravarasēna II, 7, 10, 43, 79, ix, xl, xliv
Jāmuntōlā, *vi*, 49
Jayabala, *Pāṇḍava k*, 83, 86, xxvi
Jayamangalā, com on Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, 96, xxix
Jayanātha, *Uchchakalpa feu*, 91, v
Jayasēna, *Prakrit poet,* lvii
Jetthaja (Jyēshṭhārya), *Br donee,* 99
jh, 79
jh, subscript, 69
Jharpat, *ri*, 44
jihvāmūlīya, sign of, 6, 33, 43, 63, 73, 79, 113, 121
jīva-putrā, '*having living sons*', 34
jīva-putra-pautrā, '*having living sons and grandsons*', 34
jivajja (*Jīvārya*), *Br donee,* 99
Jñānēśvarī, Marathi wk, 94
Jōdhpur inscription of Pratīhāra Bāuka, 113 *n*
Junāgadh rock inscription, 23 *n*
Jyēshṭhaśarmārya, *Br donee,* 27
Jyōtishṭōma, *Vedic sacrifice,* 95, 98 and *n*, xix *n*

K

k, cursive, 121
Kācha I, *feu*, 120 and *n*, 122, 127
Kācha II, *feu*, 120 and *n*, 122, 128
Kadamba, *dy*, 95, 96 *n*
Kadambapura, *tn*, xxx *n*
Kadambasaraka, *s a* Kōsara, *vi,* 54, 56
Kadāpiñjana, *s a* Kadhājan, *vi*, 7, 9
Kadhājan, *vi*, 7
Kākapakshaka, '*a cluster of hair above the ear*' 1
Kalachuri, *dy*, 124, vi, xxxii, xxxiii
Kalamb, *vi*, xxx *n*

Kalhana, *Sanskrit au.*, xlviii
Kālidāsa, *Sanskrit poet*, 35, 107, 113 *n.*, l, xxiii-xxv, xxx *n.*, xxxix *n.*, xlv, xlvii, l, liii and *n.*, lv, lvi
Kālidāsa, *scribe*, 58, 59, 62
Kalinga, *co.*, 106, 107, 110, xix, xxii, xxxi
Kālisarman, *Br. donee*, 43, 46, 47
Kāllāra, *vi.*, 64, 65, 68
Kāluttaka, *Br. donee*, 11, 14, xliv
Kalyāna, *ca.*, xxxiii
Kāmasūtra, *Sanskrit wk.*, 96, xxix and *n*
kanaka-valaya, '*a gold wristlet*', li
kañchuka, '*a robe*', xlviii
kanchulikā, '*a bodice*', xlix
Kāṇḍārya, *Br. donee*, 27
Kaṅkālī, *goddess*, lxiii
Kāṇṭakasaila, *l.*, xv
kanthikā, '*a necklace*', li
kārā, '*a place of worship*', 111
Kāraṇjā, *vi.*, 29
Karañjavaṭaka, *s.a.* Kāraṇjā, *vi.*, 29, 31, xxxv
kārāpakāra, '*one who performs a religious duty*', 117
Karmakāra, *m.*, 43, 44, 47
Karpūramañjarī, *Prakrit wk.*, 96, lvi
Kāsī, *holy place*, xx
Kaṭachchuri, *dy.*, xxxii
Kathāsaritsāgara, *Sanskrit wk.*, 96, xxix *n*
katibandha, '*a band for the waist*', xlviii, lxii, lxx
Kātyāyana, *off.*, 58, 162, xxxviii, xlv
Kauṇḍarīya, *m.*, 58, 62
Kauṭilya, *Sanskrit au.*, 84
Kavadighāt, *vi.*, 7
kavi-maṇḍala, '*a Society of Poets*', lviii
Kāvyānuśāsana, *Sanskrit wk.*, lv
Kēsaribēḍā plates of Arthapati, 90
kh, unlooped, 10, 33
kh, with a rectangle at the bottom, 12, 28
kh, with a loop, 33
Khairi, *vi.*, 54
Khāndēsh, *co.*, 124 *n*
Khēḍi, *vi.*, 65
Khōlāpur, *vi.*, 29
Khōṭṭēsvara, *military commander*, 29
Kilakila, *dy.*, xvii
Kiṇihikhēṭaka, *vi.*, 29, 31
Kirātārjunīya, *Sanskrit wk.*, lviii
Kīrti, *min.*, 113, 114, 118, xxx
klipta, *land tax*, 9 *n.*, xxxix
Kōbidāraka, *vi.*, 39, 40, 41
Kōkilāri, *vi.*, 54, 56
Kōlikila, *dy.*, xvii
Kōllapūraka, *vi.*, 29, 31
Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman, 95
Kōṇḍarāja, *m.*, 23, 26
Konkaṇa, *co.*, xxxii
Kōsala, *s.a.* Dakshiṇa Kōsala, *co.*, 77, 80, 81, 83, 84, 106, 107, 110, xxv-xxvii, xxxi
Kōsala, Dakshiṇa, *co.*, xix, xx, xxxiv, lvii
Kōsamba, *vi.*, 40, 49, 50
Kōsambaka, *m.*, 39, 40, 42
Kōsambakhaṇḍa, *vi.*, 48, 49, 51
Kōsara, *vi.*, 54
Kōśika, *t.d.*, 34, 35, 37
Kōśika-mārga, *t.d.*, 34, 35, 37, xxxv *n*
Kōthuraka, *vi.*, 11, 14
Kōṭṭadēva, *off.*, 39, 42
Krishna, *incarnation of Vishnu*, xxxi *n.*, lix
Krishnadāsa, *feu.*, 120, 122, 124, 128
Krishnarāja, *Kalachuri k.*, 124, xi xxxi, xxxiii
Krishnarāja II, *Saindhava k.*, 84 *n*
Krita-yuga, '*golden age*', 20, 31, 67, 69, xxxvi
Kshatrapa, *dy.*, xvii, xix, xxiii and *n.*, xxv
Kubēranāgā, *q. of Chandragupta II*, 6, 8, 37
Kulaputra, '*a high off.*', 101, xxxvii, xxxviii
Kulpā, *vi.*, 29
Kumāradēvī, *Gupta q.*, 6, 8, 37
Kumāragupta, *Gupta k.*, vii
Kumārārya, *Br. donee*, 39
Kumārāmātya, *a high Off.*, xxxviii, liii
Kumārasambhava, *Sanskrit wk.*, 113 *n.*, lvii
Kumārasarmārya, *Br. donee*, 26, 27
Kumārgaon, *vi.*, 40
kuṇḍala, '*an ear-ornament*', l
Kuṇḍinapura, *ca.*, 23, xlvii
Kuntaka, *Sanskrit au.*, i, lv
Kuntala, *co.*, 80, 81, 105 107, 110, xix, xx, xxi and *n.*, xxix-xxxiii, lvii
Kuntalēśa, '*the lord of Kuntala*', xxx *n*
Kurāla, *co.*, xxii
Kushāna, *race*, xlvii, l
Kushāna, *dy.*, xx, xxxvi
Kuvalayamālā, *Prakrit wk.*, lviii

L

l, with a long vertical, 103
l, with a short vertical, 5, 63, 104, 113
l, cursive, 43, 63
Lādgaon, *vi.*, 18
Lādkī, *vi.*, 18
Lākhāpur, *vi.*, 65
lalāṭikā, '*a head-ornament*', li

languages—
  Prakrit, 1, 63, 93
  Sanskrit, 2, 6, 10, 16, 22, 28, 33, 38, 43, 48, 53, 57, 63, 69, 73, 76, 79, 82, 91, 92, 93, 101, 104, 113, 121
Lāṭa, Central and Southern Gujarāt, 106, 107, 110, xxxi
Lēkhapallikā, *vi.*, 64, 65, 68
Lichchhavi, *tribe*, xxi
Lichchhavi, *ch.*, 6, 8, 37
Līlācharitra, *Marathi wk.*, 94
Lōhanagara, *s.a.* Lōni, *vi.*, 58, 59, 61
Lōhanagara-bhōga, *t.d.*, xxxix
Lōhitasarasvāmin, *Br. Donee*, 83, 88
Lōkaprakāśā, *Pāṇḍava q.*, 83, 87, xxvi, xxxvi
Lōnāi, *vi.*, xxxix
Lunar dynasty, 83

M

m, cursive, 76
m, unlooped, 76
Mādhappa, *Off.*, 64, 68, xxxviii, xl
Mādhavavarman, *Vishnukuṇḍin k.*, xvi, xxxi, xxxiii
Madhukajjharī, *s.a.* Murjhar, *vi.*, 70, 71
Madhunadī, *s.a.* Chandrabhāgā, *ri.*, 23, 26, 70, xxxv
Māgadhī, *Prakrit dialect*, 97 *n*
Magha, *dy.*, xxvi and *n*
Maghārya, *Br. donee*, 27
Maghaśarman, *Br. donee*, 26
Mahābhairava, *god*, 3, 10, 14, xl
Mahābhārata, *Sanskrit epic*, 123, xxxiii

Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, tit, xvii, xxxviii, liii
Māhākāntāra, *co*, xxii, xxxvi, xlix
Mahākshatrapa, tit, xix
Mahākūṭa inscription of Maṅgaleśa, 98 *n*
Mahalla-Lāṭa, *vi*, 17, 18, 21
Mahallama-Lāṭa, *vi*, 17, 18, 21
Mahāmātra, off, xxi
Mahāpurusha, *s a* Vishṇu, *god*, 58 and *n*, 62, xxi, xli
Mahārāja, tit, 6, 8, 10, 13, 14, 20, 21, 26, 28, 31, 33, 35, 37, 38, 41, 43, 46, 48, 51, 53, 56, 58, 61, 67, 76, 79, 81, 83, 87, 89, 91, 92, 101, 102, xxi, xxii *n*, xxxvi and *n* xxxvii *n*
Mahārājādhirāja, tit, 6, 8, 34, 37, xxiv *n*, xxxvi and *n*
Māhārāshṭrī, *Prakrit dialect*, 94, 97 *n*, xxvii *n*
Mahāsēnāpati, tit, xvii, xviii
Mahattara, 'an elder', 37
Mahāvīra, *Tīrthankara*, lv
Mahēndra, *k of Dakshiṇa Kōsala*, xxi, xxii and *n*, xxvi
Mahēndragiri, *k of Pishṭapura*, xxii
Mahēśvara, *s a* Śiva, 11, 13, 20, 20, 56 61, 83, 87
Mahēśvarārya, *Br donee*, 26
Mahisha, *co* and *dy*, iii, xvii
Māhishmatī, *ca*, xxiii
Majhgawan plates of Hastin, 90
Makarandasēna, *Prakrit poet*, lvii
Malaya, *mo*, 114, 115, 116 *n*
Mālava, *co*, 80, 81, 84, xxv
Mālavikāgnimitra, Sanskrit play, xxiii
Mallakapēdhaka, *vi*, 48, 51
Mallasēna, *Prakrit poet*, lvii
Mān, *tn*, iii
Māna, *Śaka k*, xvii, xviii
Mānāṅka, *Early Rāshṭrakūṭa k*, iii, xx, xxi and *n*, xxix, xxx and *n*
Mānapallikā, *vi*, 70, 72
Mānapura, *Early Rāshṭrakūṭa ca*, iii, xxi
maṇḍapa, vihāra cave, xlii
Mandasor inscription of V 524, xxvi
Mandasor inscription of V 529, xxvi
Maṇḍukigrāma, *s a* Māndgaon, *vi* 11, 14, xxxi
Māndgaon, *vi*, 11
Mani scribe, 21
maṇi-mēkhalā, girdle, li
Manōrathārya, *Br donee*, 39
Māntarāja, *k of Kurāla* xxii
Mantrin, 'Counsellor', xxxvii
Mantri-parishad, 'a Council of Ministers' xxxv
Mānvakhēṭa, *ca*, xxxiii
Māradāsa, *scribe*, 54, 56
mārga, t d, 17, 21, 34, 35, 37, 39, 58, 59, 70, 91, xxxv *n*
Mātrārya, *Br donee*, 26
Mātriśarmārya, *Br donee*, 27
Mātriśarman, *Br donee*, 26
Māyā, *Buddha's mother*, lxvii
Mayidavōlu plates, 97 *n*, 99 *n*
mēdhya, 'Khadira tree', 9 *n*
Mēghadūta, Sanskrit wk, 58, xxix, xliii, xlvi, xlvii, li, liv, lvi
Mēkalā, *co*, 77, 80, 81, 83, 84, 86, iv, xxvi, xxxiv, xxxvi, xliv, lxiii and *n*
Mēkala-sutā, *s a* Narmadā, *ri*, xxvi
Mēsha-saṅkrānti, 54

Metres—
Anushṭubh, 8 *n*, 13 *n*, 20 *n*, 25 *n*, 26 *n*, 31 *n*, 36 *n*, 41 *n*, 46 *n*, 51 *n*, 56, *n*, 61 *n*, 67 *n*, 86 *n*
Āryā, 86 *n*, 117 *n*
Aupachchhandasika, 108 *n*, 109 *n*, 121 *n*, 126 *n*
Gītikā, 108 *n*
Indravajrā, 85, *n*, 108 *n*, 115 *n*, 125 *n*, 126 *n*
Mālinī, 86 *n*, 109 *n*
Pushpitāgrā, 117 *n*
Śārdūlavikrīḍita, 85 *n*, 109 *n*
Sragdharā 84 *n*, 86 *n*
Vaṁśastha, 108 *n*, 124 *n*, 125 *n*, 126 *n*, 127 *n*
Vasantatilakā, 84 *n*, 109 *n*, 117 *n*
Upajāti, 85 *n*, 107 *n*, 108 *n*, 109 *n*, 115 *n*, 116 *n*, 125 *n*, 126 *n*, 127 *n*
Upēndravajrā, 107 *n*, 108 *n*, 126 *n*
Mihiraka, *engr*, 83, 88
Millukadratha, *vi*, 70, 71
Mitāksharā, com, xxxviii, *n*
Mōkshaśarman, *Br donee*, 26

Months—
Āśvina or Āśvayuja, 11, 15
Bhādrapada, 83, 88
Jyēshṭha, 23, 27, 54, 56
Kārttika, 6, 9
Māgha, 49, 51
Phālguna, 29, 32
Vaiśākha, 39, 42, 64, 68
Mṛichchhakaṭika Sanskrit play, xlvi
Mṛigaśiras, *vi*, 48, 51
Mugaradarā, *vi*, 70
Mūlaka, *co*, 23, 124
Mūlaśarman, *Br donee*, 27
Muralā, *co*, xxxii
Murjhar, *vi*, 71
Muruṇḍa, *dy*, xvii

N

n, with its vertical and upper bar divided, 5
n, unlooped, 38, 63
n, unlooped, 2, 93, 101, 113
n, cursive, 38, 43
n, as in Nāgarī, 28, 38, 43
Nachnē-kī-talāī, *vi*, 89
Nachnē-kī-talāī stone inscriptions of Vyāghradēva, 89 f, 92, v, xii, xix, xxvii, lxix
Nāga, *race*, 106, 111, xxi, xlvii
Nāga, *dy* xx, xxi
Nāgabala, *Pāṇḍava k*, 83, 87, xxvi
Nāgadatta, *Nāga k*, xxi
Nāga Rāja, 111 *n*, lxix
Nāga Rāja, shrine of, xli
Nāgardhan, *vi*, 7, xxiii
Nāgaśarman, *Br donee*, 26
Nāgasēna, *Nāga k*, 22
Nāgavarman, *scribe*, 11, 15
nakshatra, Pushya, 83, 88
Nala, *epic hero*, xliv
Nala, *dy*, iii, iv, ix, xx and *n*, xxii, xxvii
Naimidāsa, *off*, 43, 47, xxxviii, xlv
Nanda, *half brother of the Buddha*, lxviii
Nanda, *m*, 58, 62
Nandanārya, *Br donee*, 27
Nandardhan, *vi*, 7, xxiii
Nāndēd, *tn*, 96, xxx, xxxiv
Nāndikaḍa, *s a* Nāndēd, *t d*, 91, 96, 98, 102 *n*, xxx, xxxiv
Nandivardhana, *ca*, 6-8, 10, 11, 13, 17, 18, 20, 23, 35, 77, ix, xxiii, xxvii, xli, liv, lvi, lvii

Nāngarakataka, *t d*, 101, 102, xxix, xxx *n*
Narattanga, *s a* Narnālā, *l*, 49 and *n*
Narattangavāri, *holy place*, 48-50
Nārāyaṇarāja, *m*, 58, 62
Narēndra, *s a* Narēndrasēna, *Vākāṭaka k*, 83, 88 *n*, lxiii
Narēndrasēna, *Vākāṭaka k*, 77, 79, 81, 84, 88 *n*, iii *n*, v, vi, ix, xiii, xv xxvii, xxxvii, his accession, xxx, his feudatory Bhāratabala, xxx, his queen Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā, xxx, his feudatories of Kōsalā, Mēkalā and Mālava, xxi, xxvi, invasion of his kingdom by Nala *k* Bhavadattavarman, xxvii, his reign-period, xxvii
Narnālā, *fort*, 49
Nāsik Cave inscription of Pulumāvi, xxxiii
Nāsikya, *co*, xxxii
Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, 17
Niladāsa, *feu*, 120 and *n*, 122, 127
Nilrgrāma, *s a* Nīljai, *vi*, 54
Nīljai, *vi*, 54
Nirjalā *ēkadaśī*, xliii
Nirvindhyā, *ri*, xviii
nishka, *a gold coin*, li
Nisrishṭārtha-dūta, '*commissioner with full powers of negotiation*', liv *n*, lv
nivartana, *l m*, 23, 43, 53, 58, xl
nivasana, '*lower garment*', xlix

Numerical symbols for—

1	21, 93
2	53, 82, 93
3	21, 53, 93
4	93
5	63
8	22, 27
7	63, 93
9	63
10	21, 22, 27
20	63
30	93
400	53
8000	22

O

ō medial, 43, 57, 82

P

Pāchgaon, *vi*, 84
pādamūla, '*a foot-print*', 35, 39, xviii
pāda-pīṭha, '*a foot-stool*', xlvii
Padmapura, *ca*, 77, 78, xxvii and *n*, xxxv, xlii
Padmāvatī, *Nāga ca*, xx, xxi
Paintings at Ajantā—
(i) Events in Buddha's life—
conception, lxvi, Māyā relating her dream, lxvii, Asita predicting Buddha's career, lxvii, Buddha's first meditation, lxvii, the four signs, lxvii, Trapusha and Bhallika offering honey to Buddha, lxvii, Buddha preaching to congregation, lxvii, Buddha preaching in Tushita heaven, lxvii, lxxi, Buddha in Kapilavastu, lxviii, dying Sundarī, lxviii, taming of Nālāgiri, lxx, Buddha meeting Yasōdharā and Rāhula, lxxii, miracle at Śrāvastī, lxxiii
(ii) *Jātakas*—
Hamsa Jātaka, lxxi
Hasti Jātaka, lxvi, lxxi
Mahākapi Jātaka, lxxi
Mahā-Ummaga Jātaka, lxvi
Nyagrōdha-mriga Jātaka, lxxiii
Riksha Jātaka, lxxiii
Ruru Jātaka, lxxiii
Shad-danta Jātaka, lxxi
Śibi Jātaka, lxxiii
Sutasōma Jātaka, lxvi, lxxi
Viśvantara Jātaka, lxx, lxxi
Pākkana-rāshṭra, *t d*, 17, 18, 21, xxxiv
Pālittaya, *s a* Pādalipta, *Prakrit au*, lviii
Pallava, *dy*, 93, xix *n*, xxxiii *n*
Pañchagartā, *t d*, 83, 84, 88, xxxiv
Pañchika, *Yaksha*, l
Pāndarangapallī plates, xxv
Pāndava, *dy*, xxii, xxvi, xxxix, xxxvi, xliv, lxiii
Pāndhurnā, *vi*, 63
Pāṇḍhurnā plates of Pravarasēna II, 44 f, xxxiv
Pānōri, *vi*, 3
Paramabhaṭṭāraka, *tit*, xxxvi
Paramadaivata, *ep*, xxxvi
Paramadēvatādhidaivata, *ep*, 83
Paramagurudēvatādhidaivatavisēsha, *ep*, 83, xxxvi
Parama-Māhēśvara, '*a devout worshipper of Śiva*', *ep*, xliii
Paramēsvara, *tit*, xxxvi
pāraṇā, *completion of a fast*', 34, xli, xlii
Paraswādā, *vi*, 29
Parivrājaka, *dy*, xxvi, lxiii
Pārsvanāth, image of, 78
Parthian, *race*, xlvii
Pāśānkuśā *ēkadaśī*, xliii
Paṭa-maṇḍapa, '*a tent*', xlvii
paṭhaka, *t d*, xxxv *n*
Patna Museum plates of Pravarasēna II, 69 f, 74, xxxv *n*
Pattan, *vi*, 57, 59, xli
Pattan plates of Pravarasēna II, 57 f, xxxv *n*.
Paumachariya, *Prakrit wk*, lv
Pavōshṇī, *s a* Pūrṇā, *ri*, xviii *n*
Pavarajjavāṭaka, *vi*, 29, 31, xxxv
Pavnār, *vi*, 23, xli
Payōdhara-paṭa, '*a band for the breasts*', xlix
Pillar edict V of Aśoka, l *n*
Pishṭapura, *s a* Pīṭhāpuram, *ca*, xxii
Pitāmaha, *m*, 58, 62
Pītāmbara, *com*, lvi
Pituja (Pitrvārya), *Br donee*, 99
Pīṭhāpuram, *vi*, xxii
Pōḍāgaḍh inscription of Skandavaraman, 58, 77, 90, xxvii
Pōnnuṭūru plates of Sāmantavarman, xxxviii *n*
Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, 5 *f*, 33, 34, 82, 90, ii, xxiii *n*, xliv
Prabhākara, *feu*, *of the Guptas*, xxvi
Prabhāvatīguptā, *Vākāṭaka q*, 3, 6-8, 11, 13, 21, 26, 31, 33-35, 37, 41, 46, 56, 61, 67, 70, 71, v, vii-ix, xii, xxi *n*, xxiii, xxxvii, xli, xlix, liii, daughter of Chandragupta II -Vikramāditya, xxiii, devotee of Vishṇu, xxiii, her grants at Rāmagiri, xxiii, her sons, Divākarasēna and Dāmodarasēna *alias* Pravarasēna II, xxiii and *n*, regent for the former, xxiii, her Poona plates, xxiii, Gupta influence at her court, xxiv, proud of her Gupta descent, xxiv *n*
Prabhusimha, *scribe*, 34, 37, xlv
Prabōdhinī *ēkadaśī*, 6, 34, xliii

Prakrit grant of Śivaskandavarman, 23
pralamba pāda posture, lxii
pranaya, '*nazarānā*', 99
Pratīhāra, *dy*, 84 *n*, xxxix and *n*
Pratishthāna, *s a* Paithan, *ca*, 123
pratyālīdha, *posture*, lxii
Pravara, *mn*, 114, 118, xxx
Pravara, *s a* Pravarasēna II, lvii
Pravarapura, *s a* Pavnār, *ca*, 22, 23, 26, 28, 38, 43, 46, 58, 61, 77, xxxv, xli and *n*
Pravararāja, *s a* Pravarasēna II, lvii
Pravarasēna, *k of Kashmir*, lvi
Pravarasēna I, *Vākāṭaka k*, 3, 4 *n*, 10, 14, 17, 21 *n*, 35 *n*, 38, 64, 76, 95, 98, 103-105, 110, 114, iii, v-vii, xi, xii, xiv-xvi, xviii, xxi *n*, xxxvi *n*, xl, his annexation of Purikā, xviii, extent of his kingdom, xviii, xix and *n*, his Vājapēya, Aśvamēdha and other Śrauta sacrifices, xix and *n*, his titles-*Samrāt*, *Dharmamahārāja* and *Hārītīputra*, xix, his matrimonial alliance with Bhavanāga, xix, xx, his long life, xx, his age, xx, his Prime Minister Dēva, xx, his four sons, xx, their kingdoms, xx
Pravarasēna II, *Vākāṭaka k of the Main Branch*, 3 *n*, 6, 10, 11, 13, 17, 20-22, 26, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, 38, 41, 43, 46, 48, 49, 51, 53, 54, 56, 58, 61, 76, 93, 95, 106, iii *n*, vii, ix, xxiii *n*, xxvii *n*, xxxvi, xl, xli, xliv, xlv, liii, lv, lvi, lviii, his numerous grants, xxiv, his reign-period, xxiv, his early *ca* Nandivardhana, xxiv, his later *ca* Pravarapura, xxiv, its identification with Pavnār, xxiv, a devotee of Śiva, xxiv, *au* of Prakrit *gāthās* and *Sētubandha*, xxiv and *n* his construction of a *te* of Rāmchandra at Pravarapura, xxv
Pravarasēna II—*Vākāṭaka k of the Vatsagulma Branch*, 105, 106, 110, 114, vi, vii, xxx
Pravarēśvara, *s a* Śiva 18 and *n*, 21 *n*, 64, 67, xxxv, xl and *n*
Pravarēśvara-shadvimśati-vāṭaka, *t d*, 17, 18, 21, 64, xl
Pravira, *s a* Pravarasēna I, xi, xii, xviii, xx
Prayāga, *holy place*, xx, xxvii
Prithivīrāja, *s a* Prithivīshēna I, 64, 66, 68 and *n*, 119
Prithivīshēna I, *Vākāṭaka k*, 10, 13, 77, 80, 81, 89, 90, 105, v and *n*, xii, xiii, xxi, xxx, xxxvi, his noble qualities, xxii, his peaceful policy xxii, his age, xxii, his alliance with Chandragupta II, xxiii, his son Rudrasēna II married to Prabhāvatīguptā, xxiii, a devotee of Śiva, xxiii, shifted his *ca* to Nandivardhana, xxiii
Prithivīshena II, *Vākāṭaka k*, 76, 79, 81, 89, 91, 92, 95, 106, v, vi, ix and *n*, x, xiii, xix, xxvii, xxviii, lxiv, raised his sunken family, xxvii, his *ca* Padmapura, xxviii, invaded and devastated the Nala *ca* Pushkarī, xxvii, his feudatory Vyāghradeva, xxvii-xxviii, devotee of Vishnu, xxviii, his reign-period, xxviii
Pulumāvi II, *Sātavāhana k*, xvii, xxiii
Pulumāvi IV, *Sātavāhana k*, xvii and *n*
Punctuation, sign of, 10, 33, 48, 93
Purikā, *Vākāṭaka ca*, iii, xii, xviii, xx
Pūrnabhadra, *attendant of Buddha*, lxxiii
Pūrva-rāshtra, *t d*, xxxiv
Pushkarī, *Nala ca*, 77, ix, xxvii

R

Raghuvamsa, *Sanskrit wk*, 107, xxiv and *n*, xxxv *n*, xxxix *n*
Rāhasika, *Private Secretary*, 83, 88, xxxviii
Raipur plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja, xxxix
Rājagriha, *ca*, xv
rāja-māna, '*royal measure*', 58
Rājan, *tit*, xxi, xxii *n*
Rājaśēkhara, *Sanskrit au*, xxiii *n*, xxix *n*, liii, lvi
Rājataranginī, *Sanskrit wk*, xlviii
Rajuka, *off*, 39, xxxviii
rājya, *t d*, xxxiv, xxxvii
Rājyādhikrita, '*Chief Minister*,' 49, 52, 58, xxxvii
Rāmabhadra, *Pratihāra k*, 84 *n*
Rāmachandra, *incarnation of Vishnu*, xli
Rāmadāsa, *com*, 58, xxiv *n* lvi
Rāmāyana, Sanskrit epic, 123, xxxiii, xli
Rāmagiri, *s a* Rāmtēk, 35, 37, 38, xxiii and *n*, xxiv, xli, xliv, liv
Rāmagirisvāmin, *s a* Rāmachandra, *god*, 6, 34, xli, liv
Rāmtek, *tn*, 7, 58, 73, xxiii, liv
Rāmtēk plate of Pravarasēna II, 70, 73 f
rāshtra, '*a t d*,' xxxiv
Rāshtrakūtas, Early, of Mānapura, iii, xx, xxv, xxix, xxxi, xxxiii
Rāvanavaho, *s a Sētubandha*, *Prakrit Kāvya*, lvi
Ravi, *mn*, 113, 114, 118, xvi, xxix
Ravisāmba, *j u*, 120, 122, 128, xlii, lxix
Revatijja (Revatyārya), *Br donee*, 99
Rēvatisarman, *Br donee*, 26
Rēvatisarmārya, *Br donee*, 27
ṛi, medial 5, 63
Riddhapur, *tn*, xxvii
Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, 6, 8 *n*, 33 f, 77 *n*, 101-102, vii, xxiii *n*, xxvii, xxxv *n*, xxxvii *n*, xlv
Rikshavat, *s a* Satpudā *mo*, xii, xviii and *n*
Rishabhadatta, image of, 78
Rishīka, *co*, 123, xxxi-xxxiv, xlii, xliv
Rīti, Vaidarbhī, i, xxviii, liii
Rōhārya, *Br donee*, 27
Ruddajja (Rudrārya), *Br donee*, 99
Rudradēva, *k of Āryāvarta*, 3, xii, xxi *n*
Rudrārya, *Br donee*, 26
Rudrārya, *Br donee*, 53, 56
Rudrārya, *Br donee*, 70, 72
Rudrasarman, *Br donee*, 26
Rudrasarmārya, *Br donee*, 27
Rudrasēna I—*Vākāṭaka k*, 2, 3, 4, 10, 13, 17, 49, 95, iii, vi, vii, xii, xiv, xxi and *n*, xl, xli, daughter's son of Bhavanāga, xxi, his *dharmasthāna* at Deotēk, devotee of Mahābhairava, xxi, lost support of Nāga relatives, xxi, his feudatories submitted to Samudragupta, xxii, maintained his independence, xxii and *n*
Rudrasēna II, *Vākāṭaka k*, 3, 6, 8, 10, 13, 17, 21, 26, 28, 31, 33, 34, 37, 41, 46, 51, 56, 61, 67, 106, v-vii, xxi *n*, xxiii, xxxvii, xli, xliv, son-in-law of Chandragupta II—Vikramāditya, xxiii, a devotee of Vishnu, xxiii, his wife Prabhāvatīguptā, xxiii, her religious influence xxiii, his sons, xxiii, died early, xxiii
Rudrasimha II, *Western Kshatrapa*, xix
Rukmin, *pr*, 23, xxxiv
Rukminī, *w*, of Krishna, 23, lv

S

s, looped, 5
s, with the left member ending in a curve, 33, 38
sh, looped, 5
Śāba, *off*, liii
Sachiva, '*a minister*', xxxvii
Saduktikarnāmrita, *Sanskrit anthology*, liii
Sādyaskra, *Vedic sacrifice*, 10, 14, 95, 98, xvi, xix *n*
Sahya, *mo*, 123, 129, xxxv
Śailapura, *s a* Sālbardi, *t d*, 17, 21, xxxv *n*
Saindhava, *dy*, 84 *n*
Śaka, race, 1, xlvii

Śaka, *dy*, iii, xvii, xix
Śākuntala, Sanskrit play, xlix, li
Śālāhana, *s a* Sātavāhana, *Prakrit poet,* lviii
Śālankāyana, *dy*, xxxi
Śambhu, *s a* Śiva, god, 13, 20, 26, 31, 56, 61, 67, 71, xxiv, xxxvi
Samrāt, tit, 10, 14, xix and *n*, xxii *n*, xxxvi *n*
Samudragupta, *Gupta k*, 6, 8, 34, 37, xii, xxi and *n*, xxvi, xxxvi *n*, liii
Sāñchī inscription of Chandragupta II, 90
Sāndhivigrahika, 'Minister for Peace and War', 58, xxxviii and *n*, liii
Sangam, *vi*, 65
Sangamikā, *vi*, 64, 65, 68
Sangha, '*Buddhist Community*', 106, 113
sanghāṭī, 'a cloak', xlix
Sāngoli plates of Harivarman, 97 *n*
sa[n]*kakshikā*, 'an upper garment' xlix, lxix
sankashta-chaturthī, xliii *n*
Saṅkhedā plates of Dadda II, 58
Sankrānti, Mesha, xliii
Śāntinātha, *Tīrthankara*, lxii
Śāntiśarman, *Br donee*, 26
sa-pañchāśatka, technical term, 70
Saptaśatī, s a Gāthāsaptaśati, Prakrit anthology, lvii
Śarabhapura, kings of, 9 *n*, xxxi *n*, xliv
Śarabhapurīya kings, xxxvii *n*
Sarasvatī, *ri*, 44
Sarasvatīkanthābharana, Sanskrit wk, lv
Sarvādhyaksha 'General Superintendent' 75, 80, 81, xxxvii
Sarvasēna, *Vākāṭaka k*, 95, 98, 103, 105, 110, 114, iii, vi, vii, xv, xvi, xx, liv-lvi, lviii, founder of the Vatsagulma branch, xxix, made Vatsagulma his capital, xxix, his *tit Dharmamahārāja*, 95, 98, xxix, *au* of the *Harivijaya* and some Prakrit *gāthās*, xix
Sātakarni, Vinhukada, *k*, xix
Sātavāhana, *dy*, xvii, xlii and *n*
Satpudā, *mo*, xviii and *n*
Śatrughnarāja, *m*, 23, 26
Sattra, 'a charitable feeding house', 58
Satyabhāmā, *wife of Krishna*, liv-lv
Sātyaki, *m*, liv
Satyasēna, *Prakrit poet*, lvii
Saundarananda, Sanskrit kavya, lxviii
Śaurasēnī, *Prakrit dialect*, 94, 97 *n*
Śaurisāmba, *feu*, 120, 122, 127
Sculptures and Panels—
Bharata-bhēta, 'Meeting of Bharata lxi
Boar Incarnation lxiv
Buddhas, lxxv
Gangā, lxii, lxiii, lxiv
Kālī, lxiv
Nāgaraja and his wife, lxxiv
Padmapāni, lxxvi, lxix, lxxv
Trivikrama, lx
Vālivadha (Killing of Vālin), lxi lxii
Vajrapāni, lxvi, lxix, lxxv
Vishnu, sēshaśāyin, xliv
Yamunā, lxiv
Seals of Vākāṭaka plates—5, 9, 22, 27, 28, 32, 43, 47, 48, 57, 62
Seal of Bamhanī plates, 82
Season dates, 44, 47, 64, 68, 95, 100
Senāpati 'Army Commander', 29, 43, 58, 62, 64, 95, 100, xxxvi xlv
Sētu, Prakrit anthology, lvii-lix
Sētu s a Sētubandha, Prakrit kāvya, lvi
Sētubandha, Prakrit kāvya, 58, xxiv and *n*, xlvi, lv, lvi, lviii
Shāhānushāhi, tit, xxxvi
Shat-tilā *ēkādaśī*, 49, xliii
Shōdasin, *Vedic sacrifice*, 10, 14, 98 *n* xvi, xix*n*
Siddham, an auspicious word, 94
Simhalāvadāna, *Pāli wk*, xlix
Simhalāvadāna, painting of, lxxii
Simhavishnu, *Pallava k*, xxxiii *n*,
Singhana, *Yādava k*, 29
Śirishagrāma, *vi*, 6, 9, xxxv
Śisuka, *k of Purikā*, xi, xii, xviii
Śiśupālavadha, Sanskrit wk, lviii
Śiva, image of, 78
Śiva, temple of, xl
Śiva, *scribe*, 83, 88
Sivajja (Śivārya), *Br donee*, 99
Śiva-linga, 3, 10
Śivaskandavarman, *Pallava k*, 94, xix
Siwani, *vi*, 28
Siwanī plates of Pravarasēna II, 6, 28 f, 70, 71, 77, 104, 106, i
Skandagupta, *Gupta k*, xxvi
Skandārya, *Br donee*, 27
Skandavarman, *Nala k*, 90, ix, xxvii
Skandhaka, a metre, lx
slavery in ancient India, xlvi
Sōddhala, *Sanskrit au*, 107
Sōma sacrifices, xix, xl
Sōma, *min*, 113, 114, 118, xxix, xliv
Sōmārya, *Br donee*, 26
Sōmārya, *Br donee*, 64, 68
Sōmaśarmārya, *Br donee* 27
Sōmavamśī, *dy*, ix, xxxiii
Spurious plates, 63
Śrauta sacrifices, xliv
Śrīdharadāsa, *Sanskrit au*, liii
Śrīdharavarman, *Śaka k*, xvii, xix
Śringāraprakāsa, Sanskrit wk, lv
Śrīparnakā, *vi*, 29
Śriparnakā, *donated vi*, 70, 71
Śrīparvatīyas, *dy*, xvii
Śrī-Rāma, *min*, 113, 114, 118, xxx
Śryāśraya Śīlāditya, *Chālukya pr*, 83 *n*
Subhāshitas, liii, liv, lvi
Śudarsana, *k of Ayōdhyā*, xxiv
Śuddhōdana, *Buddha's father*, lxvii
Śukranītisāra, Sanskrit wk, 84, xxxix *n*
Sundarikā-mārga, *t d*, xxxv *n*
Sundhāti, *vi*, 70, 71, xxxv *n*
Sundhāti-mārga, *t d*, xxxv *n*
Śunga, *dy*, xxiii
Supratishtha, *t d*, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 54, 56, xxxiv
Śūra, *k*, 83
Sūryasvāmin, *Br donee*, 17, 21
Sūtradhāra, '*an architect*', xlv
Suttampāta, Pāli wk, 123
Suvarnakāra, goldsmith, xlv
Suvīthi, 'a picture gallery', 106, 111 *n*
Svamidēvārya, *Br donee*, 27
Svāmirāja, *feu of the Kalachuris*, xxxii
Svātiśarmārya, *Br donee*, 27

T

ṭ looped, 5, 16, 38
ṭ, unlooped, 10, 16, 63, 69, 93
Taittirīya śākhā, 11, 14, 17, 21, 28, 32, 34, 37, 70, 72, xlv
Tākalakhōppaka, *vi*, 94, 96, 98
Tākalī, *vi*, 96
Tākalīgōhana, *vi*, 96
Tālgunda inscription of Kākusthvarman, 98 *n*
Tāpi, *ri*, xviii
Tarhālā, *vi*, xvii

temples at—
  Ajaṇṭā,
    Cave XVI, lxvi-lxix, lxxiv, lxxv
    Cave XVII, lxix-lxxiii,
    Cave XIX, lxxiii-lxxiv
  Gulwādā—
    Caves, lxxiv-lxxvi
  Kachhnē-kī-talāi, lxiv-lxv
  Pavnār, lx-lxii
  Rāmṭek, lx
  Tigowā, lxii-lxiv
Thera, '*a Buddhist Bhikshu*', xiv, xl
Tigowā, *vi*, lxii-lxiv
tilaka '*a mark on the forehead*', l
tilaka-mani, '*a head ornament*', li
tilavāchanaka s a '*Śrāddha*', 64, 68 *n*, xliii
Tirōḍī, *vi*, 48
Tirōḍī plates of Pravarasēna II, 48 *f*, 58, 77, 94, xxxvii, xlv
Tīrthankara, '*a liberated saint*', 78, lxii

tithis—
  of bright fortnight—
    10— 54, 56
    12— 6, 9, 11, 15, 29, 34, 37, xliv
    13— 11, 17, 21, 23, 29, 32
  of dark fortnight—
    5— 39, 42
    7— 58, 62
    10— 64, 68
    12— 49, 51
    13— 83, 88
Traikūṭakas, *dy*, 107
Trikūṭa, *mo*, *and co*, 106, 107, 110, 124, xi, xxxi
Tri-ratna, '*three gems*' in Buddhism, 106
Tushāra, *dy*, xvii

U

u, medial, cursive, 53
ū, medial, 103, 113
Uchchakalpa, *dy*, 91, 92, x and *n*, xiii, xxvi, xxviii
Udāna, *Pāli wk*, 128
udara-bandha, *a band*, lxii
Uddyōtana, *Prakrit au*, lviii, lix
udranga, *a tax*, 88 and *n*, xxxix *n*
Udumbara, *vi*, xl *n*
Ujjayinī, *ca*, xxiii
Ukthya, *Vedic sacrifice*, 10, 14, 98 *n*, xvi, xix *n*
Umā, *n*, 11, 12, 14, xxxv
upadhmānīya, sign of, 6, 10, 28, 33, 43, 57, 73, 113, 121
upakāryā, '*a tent*', xlvii
upaklipta, *tax*, 9 *n*, xxxix
uparikara, *tax*, 88 and *n*, xxxix
Upēndragupta, *feu*, 120, 122, 127
Uttara-mārga, *t d*, 94, 98, 102, xxxv *n*
Uttararāmacharita, *Sanskrit play*, viii
Uttara-rāshṭra, *t d*, 83, 88, xxxiv
uttarāsanga, '*an upper garment*', xlix
uttarīya, '*an upper garment*', xlviii, lix

V

v, rectangular, 79, 121
v, round, 79
v, triangular, 2, 89, 90
Vachchhomī, *Prakrit style*, xxix, lvi
Vaidarbhī, *Sanskrit style*, liii
vaikakshaka, '*a garland*', xlviii, lxx
Vaiśālī, *Lichchhavi ca*, xxl
Vaisravana, *Pāndava pr*, xxvi
Vājapēya, *Vedic sacrifice*, 10, 14, 77, 95, 98, x, xvi, xix and *n*, xl
Vājasanēya sākhā, 53 *n*, 64, xlv
Vākāṭa, *vi*, xi
Vākāṭaka, *m*, xiv, xvi, xviii, xxxix
Vākāṭakas, *dy*, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 17, 20-22, 26-28, 31, 33, 34, 37, 38, 41, 43, 46, 51, 53, 56, 58, 61, 64, 67, 70, 77, 79, 81, 91-93, 95, 98, 101, 104, 110, 112-115, 121, their importance in history, i, discovery of, i, their age according to Buhler, ii, according to Fleet, Kielhorn and Sukthankar, ii, Bühler's view confirmed, ii, Jayaswal's view about their empire in North India and achievements, ii, Vatsagulma branch known from the Bāsim plates, iii, their four branches, iii, two of these overthrown by the Rāshtrakūtas of Mānapura, the Śakas and the Nalas, iii, their chronology v-x, Majumdar's view examined, vii-x, Jayaswal's theory about their era, v, xiii, xiv, their home, xi-xvi, their supposed coins, xiii, xiv, early rulers, xvii-xx, Vindhyasakti I, xvii-xviii, Pravarasēna I, xviii-xx,
  Main Branch—Rudrasēna I, xxi-xxii, Prithivīshēna I, xxii-xxiii, Rudrasena II, xxiii, Divākarasēna, xxiii, Prabhāvatīguptā, xxiii-xxiv, Narēndrasēna, xxv-xxvii, Prithivīshēna II, xxvii-xxviii, the achievements of this branch, xxviii
  Vatsagulma Branch—Sarvasēna, xxix, Vindhyaśakti II *alias* Vindhyasēna, xxix, Pravarasēna, xxix, his successor, a boy prince, xxix, Devasēna, xxix-xxx, Harishēna, xxxi-xxxii, his successor, xxxii-xxxiii, the downfall of this branch, xxxii-xxxiii
vamāśika, '*a servant*', 99 *n*
Vakrōktijīvita, *Sanskrit wk*, lv
Vanavāsī, *ca*, xxxii, xxiii, xxxvii *n*
Vākpatirāja, *Prakrit au*, lvii
Vallūra, *vi*, 112-114, 118, xv, xvi, xl, xliv
Vallūras, *Brāhmanas*, 113 *n*, 114
Vanavāsī, *ca*, xxv *n*
Vanhu (*s a* Vishṇu), *scribe*, 95
Vanī, *tn*, 7
Vankēsvara, *s a*, Śiva, 18 *n*
Vankō-Tummāna, *vi*, 18 *n*
Varadā, *ri*, xxxii
Varadākhēṭa, *vi*, 58, 59, 61, xxxv
Varadākheṭa-mārga, *t d*, 58, 61, xxxv *n*
Varāha, *Nala k*, xxvii
Varāhadēva, *min*, 103, 104, 106, 111, 112 *n*, 113, 114 and *n*, 115, 119 and *n*, xvi, xxxi, xli, xlii, xlv, lxiv, lxxvi
Varāhamihira, *astronomer*, 123
Vararuchi, *Prakrit grammarian*, 94
Varasarman, *Br donee*, 26, 27.
Varasarmārya, *Br donee*, 27

Vardhamānaka, *vi*, 48, 51, 83, 84, 88
Vārī, *vi*, 49
Vāregaon, *vi*, 64
Vāruchcharājya, *t d*, 64, 68, xxxiv
Varunārya, *Br donee*, 48, 52
Vasantasēna, *Prakrit poet*, lvii
vasatidanda, tax, 9 *n*
Vasurārya, *Br donee*, 70, 72
vāṭaka, 'a village', 39, xxxv
Vatapūraka, *vi*, 29, 31
Vatsa, *m*, 96 and *n*, xxix *n*
Vatsa, *sage*, 96, xxix
Vatsa, *co*, xxvi
Vatsagulma, *ca*, 95, 96, 98, 102, xvi, xx, xxv, xxix-xxxiii xxix and *n*, xxx and *n*, xxxvi *n*, liv, lvi, lvii
Vātsyagulma, *ca*, 101, 102
Vātsyagulmaka, *s a* Vatsagulma, *c*, 96, xxix and *n*
Vatsarāja, *Pāndava k*, 83, 87, xxvi
Vātsyāyana, *Sanskrit au*, xxix
Vēdārya, *Br donee*, 70, 71

Vedas—
Atharvavēda, 48, 94, 99 *n*, xlv
Rigvēda, xlv
Yajurvēda,
Mādhyandina, 83, xlv
Taittirīya, 11, t, 21, 17, 34, 37, 70, 72, xlv
Vāji (*s ā* Vājasanēya or whe), 39, 42, 53, 56, 64, 68
Sāmavēda, xlv
Vēlūr, *vi*, 115, xv, xvi
Vēlusuka, *vi*, 54, 56
Vēmbāra, *l*, 80, 81
Venā, (*s a* Waingangā), *ri*, 29
Vēṇākata, *t d*, 49 *n*
Venhujja (Vishnvārya), *Br donee*, 99
Venyā s a Waingangā, *ri*, 29
Vidarbha, *co*, 23, xxx and *n*, xxxii-xxxiii
Viddhasālabhañjikā, Sanskrit play, xxxiii *n*
Vidhijja (Vidhyārya), *Br donee*, 99
Vidisā, *Nāga ca*, xl
Vihāra Caves, xli, xlii,
Vijayapallīvātaka, *vi*, 64, 68
Vikramāditya, *tit*, xxiv *n*, lvi
Vilavanaka, *s a* Vanī, *vi*, 6, 7, 9
Vinayāditya, *Chālukya k*, 83 *n*
Vindhyaśakti I, *Vākāṭaka k*, 95, 103, 104, 110, 114, i, v, vi, xi, xii, xvii, xviii, x earliest known Vākāṭaka *k* xvii, called *dvija* (Brāhmna), in Ajaṇṭā cave inscription, xviii, his home i Central Deccan, xviii, his capital Chanakā, xviii, his kingdom, xviii, his date, xviii
Vindhyaśakti II, *Vākāṭaka k*, 94-96, 98, 105, 106, 110, 114, iii, vi, vii, xv, xxix xxx, called Vindhyasena in Ajantā Cave inscription xxix, defeated Mānānka, *k* of Kuntala, xxix, made the Bāsim grant, xxx, his minister Pravara, xxx, his title *Dharmamahārāja*, xxx, his reign-period, xxx
Vindhyasēna, *s a* Vindhyaśakti II, Vākāṭaka *k* (see above)
viraka, 'a village', xxxv
Viśākhārya, *Br*, 39
vishaya, 'a territorial division', xxxiv
vishaya-māna, 'district measure', 58
Vishṇu, image of, at Padmapur, 78
Vishṇu, *Sēnāpati*, 95, 100
Vishnukundin, *dy*, xvi, xvii, xxxiii
Vishnupurāna, Sanskrit wk, xii
vishuva, 'an equinox', 54, 56
vishuva-vāchanaka, 'reciter at a vishuva' 54, xliii
Viśruta-charita, a chapter in the *Daśakumāracharita*, xxxii, xxxiii
Viśvantara Jātaka, xlix, l
Vitastā, *ri* in Kāshmīr, lvi
Vyāghra, *Uchchakalpa pr*, 91, 92, v and *n*, vi, vii, xii, xiii, xix, xxviii, lxiv
Vyāghradeva, *feu*, of Vākāṭaka Pṛithivīshēna II 89,-92, v, vii, xxvii, xxviii
Vyāghrarāja, *k of Mahākāntāra*, xxii

W

Wadgaon, *vi*, 53
Wadgaon plates of Pravarasēna II, 53 f
Wainganga, *ri*, 29, xxxv
Wannā, *ri*, 12, xxxv
Wārī, *vi*, 49
Wheel of Samsāra, painting of, lxx-lxxi

Y

y, tripartite, 2, 103, 113
Yajñapati, *Br*, 113, 114, 118, xvi, xl
Yājñavalkya-smriti, xxxviii *n*, xlvi
Yajñārya, *Br donee*, 64, 68
Yakshārya, *Br donee*, 43, 47
Yappajja, *donated vi*, (?), 101, 102
Yasapura-mārga, *t d*, 70, 72, xxxv *n*
Yasōdāman II, *Western Kshatrapa*, xix
Yasōvarman, *k of Kanauj*, 77
Yavana, *dy*, xvii

Years—
regnal,
of Asoka—
14, 2
of Bharatabala,
2, 83, 88
of Divākarasēna,
13, 6, 9
of Pravarasēna II—
2, 11, 15
11, 17, 21
18, 17, 23, 29, 32
19, 33, 34
23, 39, 42, 44, 47, 49, 51
25, 54 and *n*, 56
27, 58, 62
29, 64, 68
of Vindhyaśakti II,
37, 95, 100

years of Eras—
Gupta Era,
174, xxviii
177, xxviii
199, lxiii
Kalachuri Era,
322, xxxii
Yadhishthira, *epic hero*, xxii, xxxvi
Yuvarāja, 'Crown Prince', 6, 8, 9, xxxvii and *n*, liii